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Templa quam dilecta.

R. C. Temple.

JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

CHARLES R. LANMAN, AND GEORGE F. MOORE,
Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge,
Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

EIGHTEENTH VOLUME,

FIRST HALF.

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Tibetan Buddhist Birth-Stories: Extracts and Translations from the Kandjur.—By Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States of America, Washington, D. C.

Now that a translation of the complete Pāli text of the Buddhist birth-stories is in course of preparation under the editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell, it seems opportune to call attention to the material contained in the Tibetan canonical books (*Kandjur*), and to its importance in connection with such a work; and though I cannot here do more than touch on the subject, the labor which even a cursory examination of the numerous and ponderous volumes of the Kandjur entails is so great and existing indexes to this work are so imperfect, that I am led to believe that even a brief notice of the subject may prove acceptable.

By far the larger number of Jātakas I have come across are in volumes III. and IV. of the Dulwa (Vinaya) section of the Tibetan Kandjur. Some of them have been translated into German by Anton Schiefner of St. Petersburg, and published in English by W. R. S. Ralston in a volume of Trübner's Oriental Series entitled "Tibetan Tales derived from Indian sources" (London, 1 vol., 8°, 1882); a few have been rendered into English by the present writer in his "Life of the Buddha" (London, 1 vol., 8°, 1884); and twenty-two are found in the Tibetan canonical work entitled *Djang-lun*, "The Sage and the Fool," published in German translation by I. J. Schmidt (1 vol., 4°, St. Petersburg, 1843); but with the exception of these and of a few scattered about in various works, the great bulk of Tibetan birth-stories still remains untranslated and, in fact, unknown.

Although I have, at various times, read the whole Dulwa, I can at present only find my notes on the third and fourth volumes. For the convenience of students, I have, in the following index, not only noted the untranslated stories, but also those translated by Schiefner and myself, the page-references being to the copy of the Kandjur in the British India Office library. I have also appended brief references to the various Jātakas which occur in the *Djang-lun*, in Schmidt's edition of that work.

Among the untranslated birth stories in the Dulwa I have chosen five from the fourth volume, and one from the sixteenth volume of the Mdo (*Sūtra*); and though perhaps they are not the best to be found in it, I offer them as fair specimens of this style of stories, in the hope that they may prove of interest.

1. Jātakas in Volume III. of the Dulwa.

P. 1–4. The Buddha was the crafty Padmai rtsa-lag (Padmabandhu?), who killed his mistress Bhadrā and then accused a hermit of the crime.

P. 4–5. The Buddha was the Brahman Lnga-brgya-chan (Pancha-çataka?), who believed in the teachings of the Buddha Vipaçyin, and who, together with his five hundred fellow-students, ate spoiled barley, because the Buddha said he should not eat delicate food.

P. 5–14. The Buddha was the Brahman youth Bla-ma (Uttara?), son of Shing sala-ch'en-po lta-bu nyagrodha (Mahāsālanyagrodha?), who was presented to the Buddha Kaçyapa by the potter Dgah-skyong (Nandapāla?), and who became a Bhikshu.

P. 14–15. The Buddha was a physician, who had not cured a sick boy because he had not been paid for his previous services.

P. 15–16. The Buddha was a fisher boy, who found pleasure in seeing two other fishermen hurt themselves.

P. 16–17. The Buddha was a strolling athlete, who broke his adversary's back in a fight.

P. 69–70. The Buddha was the King of Peacocks, Gser-du snang-wa (Suvarṇaprabhāsa?), who was learned in spells and charms.

P. 70–71. The Buddha was a snake charmer, who cured the King's son when he was bitten by a viper, by repeating charms.

P. 143–144. The Buddha was Yul-k'or skyong (Rāṣṭrapāla), King of Swans, and a peacock wanted to marry his daughter. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 354.

P. 172–173. The Buddha was a hermit, who by showing respect to a nun obtained the five *abhijñās*.

P. 173–174. The Buddha was King Çivi who was very charitable to the sick.

P. 174–176. The Buddha was the son of King Çivi. He was suffering from a pain in his side, but gave the rare drugs he was taking to a Pratyeka Buddha suffering with the same complaint.

P. 177–178. The Buddha was the younger son of King Brahmadatta; assisted by the younger son of the royal chaplain, he drugged the elder brother, so as to govern in his stead.

Besides these birth stories, in which the Buddha plays the leading part, this volume contains the following stories of a similar description, in which, however, only some of his disciples figure.

P. 62–63. A story about the Bhikshus Kaphina, Çāriputra, and Māudgalyāyana.

P. 150–152. The two otters who were imposed upon by the jackal Mukhara. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 332.

P. 153–154. The Brahman who tried to get a piece of cloth from the host at an entertainment to which he had not been asked.

P. 352. The dog who, on hearing the gong beat in two monasteries, one on either side of the river, used to swim across to get food. The gongs in both viharas sounding at the same time, he did not know which way to go and was carried off by the stream.

2. Jātakas in Volume IV. of the Dulwa.

P. 195–207. The Buddha was the Brahman youth Uttara.

P. 209–214. The Buddha was a clever thief. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 37, and *Life of the Buddha*, p. 56. This is the famous story of The Treasure of Rhampsinitus (Herodotus, ii. 121).

P. 216–219. The Buddha was a hermit. Story of Ṛṣya-çṛṅga. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 253, and *Life of the Buddha*, p. 57.

P. 219. The Buddha was a Kinnara or demigod.

P. 274–276. The Buddha was a householder in a village, who left a treasure concealed in the ground when he went away from his home. Translated below, No. I.

P. 277–278. The Buddha was a hermit, who reared an elephant. Translated below, No. II.

P. 279–283. The Buddha was a king of deer, called "Golden side" (*Gser-gyi glo*), who saved a man from drowning and was afterwards killed by him.

P. 283–285. The Buddha was a monkey-chief, who gave mangoes to a wreath-maker and was afterwards killed by him. Translated below, No. III.

P. 285–286. The Buddha was a woodpecker, who took a bone out of a lion's throat. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 311.

P. 286–288. The Buddha was a bear, who took care of a wood-chopper and was afterwards killed by him. Translated below, No. IV.

P. 288–290. The Buddha was a bear, who protected a man from a tiger.

P. 290–292. The Buddha was the charitable King Çivi, who gave his blood to cure a sick man.

P. 293–297. The Buddha was Prince Dgé-byed (Kshemaṁkara?). See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 279.

P. 298–301. The Buddha was Prince Visākha, whose wife abandoned him for a cripple. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 291.

P. 301–314. The Buddha was Prince Viçvantara (*T'ams-chad-kyi sgrol*), who gave his two children and his wife to a Brahman. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 257.

P. 333–335. The Buddha was a hunter, who saved the lives of another hunter and some animals who had fallen into a pit. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 309.

P. 335–336. The Buddha was a mouse called Given-by-Ganga (Gangādatta?). See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 308.

P. 348. The Buddha was an elephant. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 341.

P. 353–354. The Buddha was a hermit.

P. 362. The Buddha was a child named "Desire of the law" (*Ch'os-hdod*, Dharmakāma?), who was saved from poisoning by the asseveration of a hermit.

P. 363–364. The Buddha was a hermit, and a crow broke his cooking pots. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 356.

P. 365. The Buddha was the pheasant "Righteous" (*Ch'os-ldan*, Dharmika?). See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 358.

P. 365–371. The Buddha was Prince Sūryanemi (*Nyi-mai mu-k'yod*). See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 273.

P. 371. The Buddha was a jeweler, who offered to sell to another jeweler at a very low price a precious vase; but the other one abused him because he would not take a still smaller price.

P. 372. The Buddha was a younger brother, who was killed by the elder.

P. 372–373. The Buddha was one of two daughters of a Brahman and used to go out to beg for him.

P. 379–381. The Buddha was Bdjin-rgyas (Mukhara?), younger son of the Swan King, "Protector of the Country" (*Yul-k'or skyong*, Rāṣṭrapāla?), and his brother was Gang-wa (Pūrṇa?). He lived in a pond at Benares with five hundred swans.

P. 381–383. The Buddha was King Gad-rgyangs-chan (?), whose trustworthy general was "Having a stick of chyama-dum (?) (*Bya-ma dum gyi dbyug-gu-chan*).

P. 383. The Buddha was a lion, who was saved from out of a well by a jackal. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 335.

P. 383–385. The Buddha was Prince of a band of gazelles, and his doe would not abandon him when he was trapped by a hunter. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 346.

P. 385. The Buddha was an elephant that a jackal tried to frighten. Translated below, No. V.

P. 386–387. The Buddha was the chief of a band of monkeys which he saved from death by believing in a dream. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 350, and Samuel Beal, *Catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka*, p. 85.

P. 387–388. The Buddha was the chief of a band of monkeys, and he prevented them from eating poisonous fruit. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 352.

P. 388–389. The Buddha was the chief of a band of mice, five hundred of which were caught by a cat called "Fire-born" (*Me-skyes*, *Agnija*). See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 344.

P. 389–390. The Buddha was an ox that was willing to work. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 321.

P. 399–400. The Buddha was a hermit whose followers were beguiled by another hermit.

P. 458–459. The Buddha was a bull whom an ass tried to imitate. See *Tibetan Tales*, p. 323.

P. 460–462. The Buddha was the elder son of the royal chaplain of King Sems-dpah (Sattva ?), and in his absence his younger brother took his dead father's place, and when the elder brother came back, the King swore the younger brother was the elder.

P. 462–463. The Buddha was an expert mechanician, who invented a flying-machine. His apprentice tried to use it, but was thrown into the sea. See *Life of the Buddha*, p. 108.

3. Jātakas in the Djang-lun.

Ch. 2. The Buddha offers his body to a tigress as food.

Ch. 11. The Buddha was a hermit called "Patient."

Ch. 12. The Buddha was king "Power-of-love."

Ch. 13. This chapter contains three birth stories: in the first, the Buddha was King "Light-of-Knowledge"; in the second, he was ugly Prince "Log-of-Wood"; and in the third, an oil-maker.

Ch. 14. The Buddha was a wild beast called "Kunta," who sacrificed himself.

Ch. 22. The Buddha was King "Moonlight," who sacrificed his head.

Ch. 27. The Buddha was a King called "Able-to-make-clear" (*gsal-t'ub*), who had 84,000 portraits of a Buddha painted and sent to his various vassals.

Ch. 30. The Buddha was a merchant called "Great-giver," who went on a long sea-voyage.

Ch. 31. The Buddha was King "Mirror-face."

Ch. 32. The Buddha was a man called "Search-good," and Devadatta was one called "Search-evil."

Ch. 33. The Buddha was Prince "True-virtue," and Devadatta was Prince "Real-sin."

Ch. 34. The Buddha was a householder called "Peace-maker."

Ch. 35. Two birth stories: in the first, the Buddha was King "Eye-opener"; in the second, he was King Shuto-lag-gar-ni, who killed himself to become a monster fish on which his people fed in a time of famine.

Ch. 36. The story of "The man with the necklace of finger-joints" (*Aṅgulimālin*); the Buddha was Sutasoma.

Ch. 37. The Buddha was a Princess called "Able," who offered lamps before a Buddha.

Ch. 39. The story of the Householder called "He-with-a-stick." The Buddha was King "Handsome."

Ch. 43. The Buddha was a Brahman, who offered a piece of stuff to patch a Buddha's gown.

Ch. 44. The first evidence of the Buddha's divine loving-kindness.

Ch. 49. The Buddha was a lion called "Steadfast-to-his-vow."

4. Translations from the Kandjur.

Translation No. I.—The Hidden Treasure.

[Dulwa, volume IV., pages 274–276.]

Mendicants, in days of yore there lived in a mountain village a very wealthy man, who married a woman of caste equal to his own. After a while she bore him a daughter, and on the twenty-first day after her birth they had a great naming-feast, and they called her "Having-a-bracelet" (Gdu-bu-chan).

And then a son was born, and the father thought: "Since there is born to us a maker of debts and a diminisher of means, I will take merchandise and go to foreign parts." And he thought also: "This wife of mine is handsome and young; if I give her too much money on going away, she will spend it with some other man; so I will give her but very little money before I go." So he gave her a little money, poured the rest into a golden vase, the neck of which he tied with a necklace of pearls, and having hid it near the horse-ear tree[1] in the cemetery, he departed for foreign lands. There he gained great wealth, and he staid there and married a woman who bore him many children.

After a while his first wife with her two children became dependent on the work of their hands and the kindness of their relatives. So the children said: "Where is our father?"

"My son," the mother answered, "he is in such a country, in such a town, I have heard say, and he lives in great wealth; go to him, and if he gives you a little, you will be able to make a living."

So the son set out to seek his father, and when he had come to the town where he lived, and was wandering about the streets, his father recognized him and called to him and said: "Where did you come from and where are you going?" And the lad told him his history.

Then the father thought: "Of a truth, this is my son," and he embraced him and told him to let no one know that he was his father, and he showed him great affection. His other children said: "Father, whose boy is this?" "It is the son of one of my friends," he answered. Then they thought: "If he is so very fond of him, it can only be because he is his own child." So they commenced ordering him about, thinking he was a motherless boy.

Then the father thought: "Among haters there are greater and lesser ones, but these (other sons of mine) will seek an occasion to kill this boy, so I will send him away. But if I send him away with something, they will kill him on the way for his money; so I will give him something that no one (not even himself) knows anything about." So he told him: "If you dig intelligently and carefully in the east of the earth and in the vicinity of the horse's ear in the suburb of the village, measuring with a *yojana*, you

[1] *Shing rta-rna*, in Tibetan.

will find a part of my wealth; give to your sister what is around its neck. This is yours, go your way."

On the road his half-brothers laid hold of him and said: "What have you got from our father?" "Nothing," he answered them, "but this secret" (and he told it to them). "Our father has deceived him," they said to themselves, "we will let him go;" so they let him go his way. After awhile he got back to his home, tired, worn out with fatigue.

His mother said to him: "Have you got anything from your father?"

"Only this secret, but it is nothing."

"Son," she answered, "he has deceived you, you may seek the whole road, but you will find nothing."

"Mother," the son answered, "that noble man has not deceived me," and then he explained the secret. "Village" means the one where he was born; "suburb" means where corpses are burnt; "near the horse's ear" means horse-ear tree; "near it" means just what the words imply; "in the east of the earth" means to the east; "to measure with a *yojana*" means as much as a yoke will measure off.

Having thus explained the sense of the verse, he went, as soon as it was dark, to the cemetery, and looking around, saw a horse-ear tree, and having measured a yoke's length[1] on the eastern side of it, he dug a little and found a golden vase with a strand of pearls around its neck. He picked it up joyfully, carried it home, and taking off the pearl necklace, gave it to his sister.

What think ye, Mendicants? At that time I was the householder, and he who was then the son is now this doctor who rightly interprets my (enigmatical) thoughts.

Translation No. II.—The Hermit and the Elephant.

[Dulwa, volume IV., pages 277-278.]

Mendicants, in days of old there was a certain wild country where were no hamlets, but only groves, flowers, and fruit-trees of many kinds and pleasing to the eye, and also delicious springs. Here lived a hermit of the Kāuçika clan; fallen fruit, roots, and water were his food and drink, and skins and bark supplied him with raiment, and the deer and birds used to come to his hermitage.

Now it happened one day that a she-elephant calved near by, but hardly was the calf born when the mother heard a lion roar; so, filled with terror, she abandoned her young, after having dunged on it, and ran away.

After a while the hermit came out of his hut, and looking around he espied the new-born elephant without a mother, and

[1] The text reads *Dpag-ts'ad-kyis bchal*, while in the preceding paragraph in which the phrase occurs the last word is *bchad*. I take it that *bchal* (from *bjal* "to measure off") is correct, as *bchad*, which means "to cut off," does not appear to me to supply any sense in this connection.

his heart was touched with compassion, and he sought everywhere for the mother, but not finding her, he took the calf home and nursed and fed it as he would a child.

When (the elephant) had grown big, it hurt the hermit even in his dwelling, tore up the shrubs, stripped the branches off the fruit-trees, and did other innumerable wicked pranks. The hermit scolded it but it heeded him not. When its evil passions had shown themselves, he warned it, but it scorned him. After a while the hermit reproached it in the strongest terms, when (the elephant) rushed at him, killed him, and breaking through the side of the hut, ran away.

A god then spoke these verses:

"The vicious one, he who is always bad,
Is not a fit companion;
So it was that in Kāuçika's hermitage
The long-fondled elephant did evil.
"Kindness, food and drink,
Avail thee naught with a wicked one,
For surely in Kāuçika's hermitage,
The elephant killed his holy friend."

The Blessed One then said: "Mendicants, what think you? He who was then the hermit, the same now am I, and he who was then the elephant is now Devadatta, who then as now knew not his own ingratitude."

Translation No. III.—The Ungrateful Wreath-Maker.

[Dulwa, volume IV., pages 288-285.]

In times of yore, mendicants, there lived on a mountain a wreath-maker. His flower garden was on the farther side of a brook, and every day he crossed the stream to get flowers.

One day while crossing the stream he saw a perfect mango fruit floating down on the water. He took it and gave it to the gate-keeper (of the King); the gate-keeper gave it to the steward, and he gave it to the King, and the King gave it to his queen.

When the queen tasted it she was so delighted with its flavor that she said to the King: "Sire, I should like some more such mangoes." So the King said to the steward: "From whom did you get that mango?" "From the porter," he answered. "Well, tell the porter (that the queen wants some more)." So he told the porter, who said: "I got it from the wreath-maker."

Then the King said: "Sirs, call the wreath-maker." So, the King's men being summoned, he said to them: "Tell the wreath-maker that the King orders him to bring another mango from whence he got the first one."

Now, it is not right to disobey the orders of a sovereign of men, so (the wreath-maker) filled with awe, took some provisions, set out to look for mangoes, and came to where he had found the first one. On the side of the mountain he found a mango tree to which monkeys, but no man, had ever been. The wreath-maker examined the tree all around (and found) it could not be reached

on account of a great chasm; but he so much wanted the fruit that he staid there for many days until his provisions were all exhausted.

Then it occurred to him: "If I remain here without provisions I shall die. If there were only a little water (in the chasm?) I might finally get up to the tree," and he clutched the rocks and tried to get over, but he could not reach the mangoes and fell in.

Now, the future Buddha (Gotama) had been born on that mountain as a monkey, and was a monkey-chief. It so befell (lit., through the power of fate it happened) that he and his band were on the mountain, and coming along that way he saw in what dire distress the wreath-maker was, and knowing both what he had done and the circumstances of the case, he tried to help him, and as no single one of the monkeys could get him out, they decided to make steps with stones and by this means pull him up. So little by little, as they piled up the stones, they raised up the wreath-maker until finally, utterly exhausted, they dragged him out.

In those days beasts spoke the language of men, so they asked him: "How did this mishap befall you?" And when he had told them, the future Buddha thought: "Since it would be unsafe for him to go away without these mangoes, I will get him some;" and this noble creature, ever desirous and willing to help others, notwithstanding his fatigue, climbed the tree, plucked the fruit, and the man ate of them as many as he wanted and took as many away as he could carry.

Now future Buddhas (Bodhisattvas) sacrifice themselves for all creation, and this monkey-chief sacrificed himself here. He said to the man: "Master, I am weary, I must rest me for a little while." "Do as thou wilt," he answered. So he lay down and went to sleep.

Then the man thought: "I am without provisions, but should I eat the mangoes what could I give to the King! I will kill this monkey, take his flesh as food, and go my way." And so the cruel man, putting away all thought of the life to come, killed him with a big stone.

A deity spoke these verses:

> "Succor and even miracles
> As well as benefits and friendly talk (are naught);
> Some men there are for whom
> A service, once rendered, is forgot."

What think you, mendicants? he who at that time was the monkey-chief, he I am now; and he who was then the wreath-maker is now Devadatta.

Translation No. IV.—The Wood-Chopper and the Bear.

[Dulwa, volume IV., pages 286–288.]

In times of yore there lived in the city of Benares a poor man who supported himself by selling wood. One day he rose up early in the morning, and, taking his ax and carrying-frame, started off to the forest for wood. On a sudden, rain began to

fall, accompanied by violent wind. The man sought everywhere a place of shelter and went from tree to tree, but in each place the rain drenched him to the skin, so he left the trees and took refuge in a cave.

Now in this cave there lived a brown bear, and when the man saw it, he was frightened and would have run away, but the bear said to him: "Uncle, why are you afraid?" But the man was timid and held back in fear. After a while the bear pressed him to his breast with both arms and gave him a quantity of roots and fruit (on which the man lived).

The storm lasted for seven days without the rain-god stopping it; but when seven days had passed and the eighth day had come, the rain-cloud passed away. Then the bear, having looked all around the horizon, took a quantity of roots and fruit (gave them to the man), and said to him: "Son, the rain-cloud has gone, the storm is over, go in peace." The man cast himself at the bear's feet and said: "Father, how can I show my gratitude?" "Son," he answered, "tell no one of my whereabouts, and you have repaid me." "I will do as you request," and having walked around him (as a sign of respect), he bowed down before him and went away.

When he had come to Benares, he met a hunter on his way to hunt deer, who said to him: "Comrade, where have you been these last few days? When that sudden rain-storm set in, your wife and family thought you had been killed by some wild beast; they were terrified and have been in dire despair. Tell me, how many birds and deer did you kill during the seven days' storm?" And the man told him what had happened. Then the other said: "Tell me, where is that bear's den?" "Promise me," he replied, "that you will not, at some future time, go to the part of the forest in which he lives." And this the other promised him. But after a while the hunter beguiled him with the promise of two-thirds of the bear's meat (if he would go with him to its den), and having got his hunting-knife,[1] they started off for the wood-land den of the noble bear, and after a while the ungrateful man said to the cruel one: "Here is the bear's den." And the hunter, so as to kill it, put fire in the cave.

Choked with smoke, sorrowful at heart, and his eyes filled with tears, the noble bear spoke these verses:

"I lived in a hollow in the wilds,
Nourished with roots, fruit, and water,
With kindly feelings for all beings;
To no one have I done evil;
But when the hour of death has come,
Then nothing can avail.
The desires of beings and undesirable acts
Must needs follow the one the other,"[2]

and with these words he died.

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[1] *Lam-mts'on* or "road-knife," probably a big knife like the Gorkha *kukree* used for clearing a pathway through the jungle.

[2] The sense of these last two lines is not very clear, although there is no doubt as to the general sense of the text.

When the men had butchered him and finished dressing the carcass, the hunter said to him who had been the author of this crime: "Take your two-thirds of the meat," but he spread out his hands and fell flat on the ground, and when the other hunters saw this, they exclaimed: "Alas! Alas!" and throwing away their share of meat they went away.

Hearing that a great miracle had occurred, a crowd went out to where it had happened, and King Brahmadatta went out also. Now, somewhere on the mountain side there was a convent (*sanghārāma*), and King Brahmadatta, with wonder-opened eyes, took the bear's skin with the intention of showing it to the monks who inhabited it, and he went to the monastery, and spreading out the skin, he seated himself and placed it at their feet, and told them the whole story. When he had finished, an elder (*Sthavira*), who was also a holy man (*Arahat*), spoke these verses:

"Mahārāja, this is no bear.
It has the splendor of a Future Buddha (*Bodhisattva*).
Mahārāja, the three worlds
And thou may rightly pay it homage."

Then the King thought: "He shall be honored," and the Monks said: "Sire, show him homage, for he is a future Buddha of this world-period."

Then King Brahmadatta, his queens, sons, ministers, peasants, and the townspeople, all took sweet-smelling woods and went to the place where lay the body of the bear, and having collected in a heap all the flesh and bones, the King said: "Now put on it the sweet-smelling wood, and when you have done so, set it on fire." So they heaped up the sweet-smelling wood, and having shown great marks of honor to the remains, set fire to the pile, and after this they built a monument (*ch'ürten*) on the spot, and to it they fastened parasols, flags, and streamers, and here they made great offerings at stated periods. All those who took part in this great work reached heaven (*svarga*).

What say you now, mendicants? He who at that time was the brown bear, the same now am I; and he who was then the ungrateful man is now Devadatta.

Translation No. V.—The Elephant and the Jackal.

[Dulwa, volume IV., page 385.]

In days of old there was a great lotus-pond in a mountain country, where lived an elephant, and near by a jackal. Once upon a time the elephant went to the pond to drink, when the jackal came along and said to him: "If you do not want to have a quarrel, get out of my way."

The elephant thought: "If I should destroy this mass of cor-

ruption with my feet or my trunk or my tusks, it would demean me, for he is too vile; forsooth, his own filth will kill him. So he spoke this verse:

"I will not kill thee with my feet,
Nor my tusks, nor yet with my trunk;
The filthy one shall be killed by filth.
Thou shalt die then in corruption."

The elephant then said to himself: "I will give up the road and take a byway, for I doubt not he is following me;" so quickly he got out of the road and went away. But the Jackal thought: "A simple word from me has frightened him, and he has run away," and he went after him. Then the elephant, perceiving that he was near, threw at him with all his great might some dung, which hit him; and so he died.

What think you, mendicants? He who was then the elephant, the same now am I, and he who was the jackal, is now Devadatta.

Translation No. VI.—Golden-sheen (Suvarṇaprabhāsa), the King of Peacocks.

[From the Çrīgupta Sūtra, Mdo, volume XVI., folios 427–451.]

In days of yore King Brahmadatta reigned in Benares; and his riches, treasures, and possessions were vast, and his storehouses were full. Now King Brahmadatta had a wife whose name was "Incomparable," and she was handsome and stately, and her face was exceedingly lovely. This princess was very dear to the King, and he satisfied her every whim and fancy.

At this same time there lived on the southern slope of Mount Kāilās, the chief of mountains, a king of the peacocks, "Golden-sheen" (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa*) by name, and with him was a retinue of five hundred followers. His limbs were glossy, as was also his body, and as a jewel was his beak. Where'er he went, he was recognized as the grandest of all peacocks.

On a certain occasion, this King of peacock's cry was heard in the middle of the night within the city of Benares, and every one in the city talked of it. The wife of King Brahmadatta happened to be on the terrace of her palace when this sound was heard, and so she questioned the King. "Sire," she said, "whose is this voice so sweet, which causes such emotion and delight?"

The King answered: "Princess, though I have not seen (its possessor), from its accents it must be that of Suvarṇaprabhāsa, the king of the peacocks, who lives on the southern slope of Kāilās, the chief of mountains (*the rest as above*). Then the Queen said: "Sire, I beg you to have this king of peacocks brought here." King Brahmadatta said: "What is the use of my seeing him going through the air?"

But the Queen said: "Sire, if you do not let me see this Suvarṇaprabhāsa I shall die."

So King Brahmadatta, who was very much in love with her, was touched; and he said: "I will send out all my huntsmen and bird-charmers." So King Brahmadatta had all his huntsmen and fowlers called and said to them: "It is reported, sirs, that on the southern slope of Kāilās, the chief of mountains, lives the peacock king, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, whose limbs and body are glossy, and whose bill is like a jewel: go and net or snare him and bring him here. If you succeed, it is well; but if you fail, I will have you all put to death."

So the hunters and fowlers, fearing for their lives, took their nets and snares and started for the southern slope of Kāilās, the chief of mountains. When they reached there, they stretched their nets and set their traps in the place where the king of peacocks lived, so that nets and hair nooses were all around him, but though they waited there seven days, pressed with hunger, they were unable to catch the peacock king.

Finally the king of peacocks, touched with compassion for them, came and said to the hunters: "Ye men of violence, why stay ye here, though pressed by hunger?" They answered him: "Here is the reason, O peacock king; King Brahmadatta has ordered us saying: 'Go and take with your nets and snares Suvarṇaprabhāsa, the peacock king, whose limbs and body are glossy and whose bill is like a jewel, and who with five hundred followers lives on the southern slope of Kāilās, the chief of mountains. If you bring him here, it is well, but if you do not, you shall all be put to death;' so we, fearing for our lives, have come here to try and capture you." The king of peacocks said: "Men of violence, you cannot take me with snares and nets; but if King Brahmadatta wants to see me, let him have Benares swept, sprinkled with scented water, decorated with flowers, let him have white awnings stretched, flags hoisted, and censers fuming with incense, let him get ready chariots with the seven kinds of precious stones, and then if in seven days from now he come here surrounded by his whole army, I will go of myself to Benares."

When the hunters and fowlers had heard what Suvarṇaprabhāsa, the king of the peacocks, said, they returned to Benares and went to King Brahmadatta, to whom they said: "Listen, Sire! we departed hence with nets and snares and went to the south side of Kāilās, the chief of mountains. We stretched our nets and set our snares all around the place where the king of peacocks was living; but though we waited seven days, gnawed by the pangs of hunger, we were not able to catch him. But the king of peacocks, filled with compassion, came and spoke to us, asking us what we were doing staying there though suffering with hunger. When we had told him, he said to us, 'If Brahmadatta wants to see me,'" etc. etc. (*as above*).

When King Brahmadatta had listened to the hunters and fowlers, he had the city of Benares arranged as the king of the peacocks had directed (*the rest as previously*), and with fine chariots ornamented with the seven kinds of precious stones, and

surrounded by all his army, he went to the southern slope of Kāilās, the chief of mountains, and the king of peacocks, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, riding also on a chariot made of the seven kinds of precious stones, uttered a cry which the whole army heard. So then King Brahmadatta, delighted, his heart filled with joy, did homage before Suvarṇaprabhāsa, king of the peacocks; he bowed down before him, made him offerings, honored him, and then they went back together to the city of Benares. When they arrived at the gate of Benares, again he uttered his cry, and it was heard throughout the whole city; and throughout the city, men, women, boys, and girls all rushed to the gates.

Then King Brahmadatta again honored the king of the peacocks, did him homage, made him offerings, honored him, and going to his palace, he sought the Queen and said to her: "Princess, the king of the peacocks, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, is coming to your dwelling."

Now King Brahmadatta made himself (daily) offerings of fruits and flowers to Suvarṇaprabhāsa, king of the peacocks; but it so happened, however, that on a day, the King, being busy, thought; "Who can make the offerings to Suvarṇaprabhāsa, the peacock king?" and it occurred to him that Princess "Incomparable" was clever and very learned, and that she could do it. So King Brahmadatta had his wife called and said to her: "Princess, please make the offerings to Suvarṇaprabhāsa, king of the peacocks, in the same way as I have done;" and King Brahmadatta's consort herself offered to the king of peacocks flowers and fruits.

Now it happened that on a certain occasion the Queen committed adultery and was with child; so she bethought herself: "If this king of peacocks does not speak, King Brahmadatta will not hear of this, and so will not want to kill me." So this woman gave the king of the peacocks poisoned food and drink; but the more she gave him, the healthier he looked, the more beautiful, the more pleasing, the more resplendent he became, and the Queen was filled with astonishment. But the king of the peacocks, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, cried out to her: "Thou rogue, thou rogue, I know thee! Thou didst think because thou wast with child by another man and this bird knows it, if he does not talk, the King will not hear of it and will not put me to death. So thou gavest me poisoned food and drink, but thou canst not kill me!"

On hearing these words, the Queen fell on her face, and having lost a great deal of blood (lit., arterial blood), was stricken down with a severe illness which caused her death, and after her death she was born in hell.

He who was the king of Benares is now Çāriputra, and I was the king of the peacocks, "Golden-sheen."

Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa to the history of the Brāhmaṇa literature.—By Professor HANNS OERTEL, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

First Series: Parallel passages from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa to fragments of the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

A complete collection of the fragments of the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa is wanting. The following list of references to a few passages in which such fragments occur may however be acceptable.

Fragment	
1.	Çaṁkara on Ved. Sūt. iii. 3. 25.
2.	Çaṁkara on Ved. Sūt. iii. 3. 26=27=iv. 1. 16=17 (*tasya putrāḥ*).
3.	Çaṁkara on Ved. Sūt. iii. 3. 26 (*āudumbarāḥ*).
4.	ĀpÇS. v. 23. 3.
5.	ĀpÇS. x. 12. 13=Yājñikadeva on KātÇS. vii. 5. 7.
6.	ĀpÇS. x. 12. 14.
7.	Rudradatta on ĀpÇS. xiv. 23. 14.
8.	ĀçvÇS. i. 4. 13.
9.	LāṭÇS. i. 2. 24, with Agnisvāmin's Com.
9[1].	LāṭÇS. iv. 5. 18.
10.	Sāyaṇa on TMB. iv. 2. 10.
11.	Sāyaṇa on TMB. iv. 3. 2.
12.	Sāyaṇa on TMB. iv. 5. 14.
13.	Sāyaṇa on TMB. iv. 6. 23.
14.	Sāyaṇa on RV. i. 51. 23.
15.	Sāyaṇa on RV. i. 84. 13=Com. on SV. (Bibl. Ind.). vol. i., p. 400=vol. iii., p. 506.
16.	Sāyaṇa on RV. i. 105. 10.
17.	Sāyaṇa on RV. vii. 82, introduction.
18.	Sāyaṇa on RV. vii. 33. 7.
19*a*.	Sāyaṇa on RV. viii. 91. 1.
19*b*.	Sāyaṇa on RV. viii. 91. 3.
19*c*.	Sāyaṇa on RV. viii. 91. 5.
19*d*.	Sāyaṇa on RV. viii. 91. 7.
20.	Sāyaṇa on RV. viii. 95. 7=Com. on SV. (Bibl. Ind.), vol. i., p. 716.
21.	Sāyaṇa on RV. ix. 58. 3=Com. on SV. (Bibl. Ind.), vol. iv., p. 19.
22.	Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 38. 5.
23*a*.	Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 57. 1.
23*b*.	Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 60. 6.
24.	Sāyaṇa on RV. i. 105, introduction (metrical paraphrase).
25.	Sāyaṇa on RV. v. 2. 1 (metrical paraphrase).

ON the following pages I give a collection of those fragments of the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa[1] to which parallel passages exist in the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa. The first and larger part of the article (nos. I.–X.) is made up of those cases in which there is an almost *verbatim* correspondence between the two Brāhmaṇas, while the second part (no. XI.) comprises those passages which in regard to phraseology or subject matter show more or less similarity only. The almost *verbatim* correspondence of the Apālā legend in the two Brāhmaṇas was noted as early as 1879 by A. C. Burnell,

[1] Cf. A. C. Burnell, The Saṁhitopanishad-brāhmaṇa (Mangalore, 1877), p. iii, note; Th. Aufrecht, ZDMG. xlii. 151; also his Catalogus Catalogorum, s. v.

who soon after his discovery of the MSS. of the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa sent a brief communication about its contents to the London Academy (Feb. 8, 1879; vol. xv., p. 126), which he closes with these words: "Were it not that the Jāiminīyas consider the Çāṭyāyana school to be different from theirs, I should identify this new Brāhmaṇa with the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyaṇa. Probably the difference between the two schools, if there really be any, is very small. I find the legend of Apālā (quoted by Sāyaṇa in his Commentary on Rigveda viii. 80 as from the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa) word for word—except a trivial *v. l.*—in sections 220-1 of the Agniṣṭoma book of the new Brāhmaṇa. I have not been able to search for the other passages quoted by Sāyaṇa as this Brāhmaṇa is of great bulk."

The question here raised by Burnell as to the relationship of the two Brāhmaṇas is difficult to answer with desirable accuracy. Identity, for the reasons given by Burnell and below, is out of the question. As for the degree of relationship, we could argue more safely if an intimate knowledge of the sources from which our present Brāhmaṇa collections have flowed and of the manner in which they were composed enabled us to give just and proper weight to both similarities and discrepancies. As it is, the danger seems to lie in over-valuing the former, many of which owe their likeness to the fact that they were taken from the same sources, such as pre-brāhmaṇic *itihāsa*-collections,[1] or theological manuals; for the parallelism of ritualistic passages, not only in Brāhmaṇas of the same school, but also in those belonging to different schools,[2] plainly suggests the fact that, aside from their legendary material, the compilers of our present Brāhmaṇas drew a certain amount of theological and ritualistic matter from existing collections.

While thus the striking resemblances of the passages given below under nos. II. to X. must not be overrated in estimating the closeness of relationship of the two Brāhmaṇas, due weight must be given to the following two points.

First, the occurrence of ÇāṭB. fragments which cannot be paralleled at all in the JB.: such are Sāyaṇa on RV i. 105. 10; Āpastamba ÇS. x. 12. 13, 14; Commentary on ĀpÇS. xiv. 23. 14; Lāṭyāyana ÇS. iv. 5. 18 with the Commentary; Commentary on TMB. iv. 5. 14 and 6. 23; and other passages mentioned below. The quotation at ĀpÇS. x. 12. 13 recurs in Yājñikadeva's comment on Kātyāyana's ÇS. vii. 5. 7.

Second, the dissimilarity of the two versions of the story of Dadhyañc the Ātharvaṇa.

The Çāṭyāyanins, according to Sāyaṇa on RV. i. 84. 13, told a story about Dadhyañc as follows:

At the sight of Dadhyañc the Ātharvaṇa, while he was alive, the Asuras were undone. But when he had gone to heaven the

[1] Geldner, *Ved. Stud.*, i. 290.

[2] Compare, for instance, AB. v. 33. 2 with JUB. iii. 16. 1, or AB. v. 34. 1 ff. with JUB. iii. 17. 4 ff.

earth became filled with Asuras. Thereupon Indra, not being able to fight with the Asuras, seeking that sage, heard: "He hath gone to heaven." Then he asked the people here: "Is there no part of him anywhere left here?" They said to him: "There is that horse-head with which he announced the honey-wisdom[1] to the Açvins. But we do not know what hath become of it." Indra answered: "Seek it." They sought it. Having found it in the Çaryaṇāvant, they fetched it. In the back part of Kurukṣetra indeed flows a river Çaryaṇāvant by name. With the bones of this head Indra smote the Asuras.

The text, as quoted by Sāyaṇa, runs thus:

ātharvaṇasya dadhīco jīvato darçanenā 'surāḥ parābabhūvuḥ. atha tasmin svargate 'surāiḥ pūrṇā pṛthivy abhavat. athe 'ndras tāir asurāiḥ saha yoddhum açaknuvaṅs tam ṛṣim anvicchan svargaṁ gata iti çuçrāva. atha papraccha tatratyān ne 'ha kim asya kiṁ cit pariçiṣṭam aṅgam astī 'ti. tasmā avocann asty etad āçvaṁ çīrṣaṁ yena çirasā 'çvibhyām madhuvidyām prābravīt tat tu na vidma yatrā 'bhavad iti. punar indro 'bravīt tad anvicchate 'ti. tad dhā 'nvāiṣiṣuḥ. tac charyaṇāvaty anuvidyā "jahruḥ. çaryaṇāvad dha vāi nāma kurukṣetrasya jaghanārdhe saraḥ syandate. tasya çiraso sthibhir indro 'surāñ jaghāna.[2]

The JB. version is as follows (iii. 64):

dadhyaṅ ha vā ātharvaṇas tejasvī brahmavarcasy āsa. taṁ ha sma yāvanto 'surāḥ parāpaçyanti te ha sma tad eva [vi]çīrṣāṇaç çerate. sa u ha svargaṁ lokam uccakrāma[3]. sa he 'ndro surāir açvibhiç co[4] "dha uvāca kva nu dadhyaṅ bhavatī 'ti. tasmāi ho "cus svargaṁ vāi bhagavas sa lokam udakrāmad iti. sa ho 'vāca nāi 'vā 'sye 'ha kiṁ cit pariçiṣṭam astī 'ti. tasmāi ho "cur āśīd eve 'dam açvaçīrṣaṁ yenā 'çvibhyāṁ devavidyām[5] prābravīt tat tu na vidma yatrā 'bhavad iti. tad vā anvicchate 'ti. tad dhā 'nvīṣur. icchann açvasya yac chiraḥ parvateṣv apaçritaṁ tad vidac charyaṇāvatī[6] (SV.ii.264=RV.i.84.14) *'ti. çaryaṇāvad[7] dha nāmāi 'tat kurukṣetrasya jaghanārdhe saraḥ[8]. tad etad anuvidyā "jahrus tasmāi prāyacchan. tad dha smā 'surāṇām prakāçe dhārayati. taṁ ha sma yāvanto 'surāḥ parāpaçyanti te ha sma tad eva viçīrṣāṇaç çerate. 65. sa ha tāir evā 'sthibhir navatīr jaghānā 'surāṇām. tad etad bhrātṛvyahā vijitī. indro dadhīco asthabhir[9] vṛtrāṇy apratiṣkuto jaghāna navatīr* (SV. ii. 263= RV. 1. 84. 13, omitting the last word *nava*). *navatīr vijayate hanti dviṣantam bhrātṛvyaṁ ya evaṁ veda.*

[1] Cf. ÇB. iv. 1. 5. 18 and Eggeling's note; and BAU. ii. 5. 16.

[2] The same quotation is also found in the commentary on the SV., Biblioth. Ind., vol. i. 400=vol. iii. 506. [3] -ā. [4] cā.

[5] *devadam.* [6] *chariy-.* [7] *-vard.* [8] *kaṁ* inserted. [9] sic!

Then follows SV. ii. 265=RV. 1. 84. 15 with explanation.

It will be seen that the two versions do not at all closely agree in their phraseology. I add the translation of the JB. passage:

Dadhyañc the Ātharvaṇa was famous, learned in sacred lore. Whenever any of the Asuras espied him from afar then these were laid low and lost their heads. And he went up to heaven. Indra pushed by Asuras and Açvins[1] said: "Where, pray, is Dadhyañc the Ātharvaṇa?" They told him: "Sir, he went up to the heavenly world." He said: "Is nothing left of him here?" They told him: "There was that horse's head with which he proclaimed divine wisdom (?) to the Açvins; but we do not know what became of it." "Search for it." They searched for it. "Searching for the horse's head that was hid away in the mountains, he found it in the Çaryaṇāvant." Çaryaṇāvant indeed is the name of a river in the back part of Kurukṣetra. Having found it, they fetched it and gave it to him. He always held it in sight of the Asuras. Whenever any of the Asuras espied him from afar, then these were laid low and lost their heads. He, indeed, slew ninety Asuras by means of these bones. Thus he is rival-conquering, victorious. "Indra the invincible slew with the bones of Dadhyañc ninety foes." He overcomes ninety, slays his hateful rival, who knows thus.

There are two other stories, the story of Trita, and the story of Tryaruṇa, common to the ÇāṭB. and JB.; but we are unable to make similar comparisons here, because in each case we have not the precise language, but only the gist, of the ÇāṭB. version.

The first of these is the story of Trita's rescue from the well, mentioned in the Nirukta iv. 6, and told at great length in the ninth book of the MBh. (ix. 2064 ff, ed. Calc.=ix.36.1 ff, ed. Bomb.; part lviii., p. 143, of Pratāpa Chandra Roy's translation). It is found in the JB. at i. 184. But instead of the ÇāṭB. passage corresponding to this, Sāyaṇa (introduction to RV. i. 105) gives merely an abstract, and it is impossible to determine how much of the phraseology is his and how much belonged to the Brāhmaṇa. Sāyaṇa's summary is as follows:

Ekata, Dvita, [and] Trita in time gone by were three sages. At one time, wandering in Marubhūmi, in a forest, their bodies being oppressed by thirst, they found one well. Then he whose name was Trita alone entered the well to drink water, and having drunk himself, he drew up water from the well and gave it to the other two. These two having drunk the water, threw Trita into the well, took away all his possessions, and, closing the well by the wheel of a chariot, went away.[2] Thereupon Trita, thrown into the well, unable to get out of the well, bethought himself in his mind: "Let all the gods lift me up." Then he

[1] The text is here very uncertain; there is no call for the mention of the Açvins, and the plural form also discredits the correctness of the text.

[2] The form *prāsthiṣātām* looks like a reminiscence of the precise language of the Brāhmaṇa.—Ed's.

saw this hymn in praise of them. Then at night, seeing the rays of the moon within the well, he complained.

Here Sāyaṇa breaks off.

Compare with this the story as related in the JB., i. 184, text and translation of which follow here:

trāitaṁ nāthakāmaḥ kurvīta. āptyān sātaṁ[1] *nayato 'raṇye pipāsā 'vindat. te 'dhanvan. kūpam avindan. tan nāi 'kato 'varoḍhum akāmayata na dvitas tat trito 'vārohat. tāu yadā 'pibatām atṛpyatām*[2] *atha hāi 'naṁ tad eva rathacakreṇā 'pidhāya gobhiḥ prāitām. so 'kāmayato 'd ita iyāṁ gātuṁ nāthaṁ vindeye 'ti. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat tenā 'stuta. sa sam indubhir*[3] *ity eva nidhanam upāit. tam parjanyo vṛṣṭyo "rddhvam udaplāvayad abhi hi tad rathacakram utplāvayāṁ cakāra yenā 'pihita āsa. tad etad gātuvin nāthavit sāma. gātuṁ vāi sa tan nātham*[4] *avindata. vindate gātuṁ nāthaṁ ya evaṁ veda. sa padenā 'nvāit. tam pratikhyāyā "yantam ṛkṣo 'nyo bhūtvā markaṭo 'nyo vanam avāskandatām.*[5] *tad u bhrātṛvyahā sāma. bhrātṛvyatāṁ vāva tasya tāv agacchatāṁ yāv ṛkṣaṁ ca markaṭaṁ cā 'karot. atho hā 'smāi varṣuka eva parjanyo bhavati. tad u paçavyam eva. kevalān vāi sa tān paçūn akuruta. ava paçūn runddhe bahupaçur bhavati ya evaṁ veda. yad u trita āptyo 'paçyat tasmāt trāitam ity ākhyāyate.*

He who desires assistance should perform the *trāita*[*-sāman*].[6] The Āptyas, when they were leading on what they had got,[7] became thirsty in the forest. They ran. They found a well. Now neither Ekata nor Dvita was willing to descend. So Trita descended. These two, after they had drunk, were satisfied. So then, having covered him (Trita) with the wheel of a chariot, they went away with the cows.[8] He (Trita) desired: "May I go out from here, may I find a way out, assistance." He saw this *sāman;* with that he praised. The *nidhana* he performed with "With drops." Parjanya by means of a rain-shower floated him upward; thus indeed he floated him upward to the chariot-wheel with which he (T.) was covered.[9] That same is a way-making, assistance-bringing *sāman;* verily, he found a way out, assistance. He finds a way out, assistance, who knows thus. He followed in [their] footsteps. When they saw

[1] *-te.* [2] A. *amṛpyatām;* B. *atrapyatām.* [3] B. *indur.*
[4] The next four words om. in A. [5] B. *avas-.*
[6] Cf. Bibl. Indic. ed. of SV., vol. i., p. 849 f.
[7] The reading here is uncertain. According to the MBh. they had been collecting cattle from their father's *yajamānas.*
[8] In the MBh. the guilt of the two brothers is much extenuated.
[9] Very similar is the MBh., *tatra co 'rmimatī, rājann, utpapāta sarasvatī | tayo 'tkṣiptaḥ samuttasthāu,* 2111=47.

him coming they hastened into the woods, the one becoming a bear, the other an ape.[1]

That is likewise a rival-slaying *sāman.* For these two whom he turned into a bear and an ape had aspired to rivalry with him. Moreover Parjanya rains for him. And it is also a cattle-*sāman.* Verily it made those cattle exclusively his. He encloses cattle, he becomes possessed of much cattle, who knows thus. And because Trita Āptya saw it, therefore it is called *trāita*[*-sāman*].

The second legend is the story of Tryaruṇa Trāivṛṣṇa, king of the Ikṣvākus, and his *purohita* Vṛça Jāna. In this case Sāyaṇa (comment. on RV. v. 2. 1) has cast his quotations into metrical form and has thus again prevented as minute a comparison as is required for our purpose. In order to gain an idea of the degree of faithfulness of the metrical paraphrase to its original, we may place side by side the original passage, TMB. xiii. 3. 12, and Sāyaṇa's metrical paraphrase.

The TMB., xiii. 3. 12, in text and version, runs as follows:

vṛço vāi jānas tryaruṇasya trāidhātvasyāi "kṣvākasya purohita āsīt. sa āikṣvāko dhāvayat. brāhmaṇakumāraṁ rathena vyacchinat. sa purohitam abravīt tava mā purodhāyām idam īdṛg upāgād iti. tam etena sāmnā samāirayat. tad vāva sa tarhy akāmayata. kāmasani sāma vārçam. kāmam evāi 'tenā 'varunddhe.

Vṛça Jāna was *purohita* of Tryaruṇa Trāidhātva Āikṣvāka. This Āikṣvāka, speeding along, cut a Brāhman's boy with the wheel. He said to the *purohita:* "While thou wast *purohita,* this here hath happened to me." He revived him by means of this *sāman.* For that he then desired. The *vārça* [*sāman*] is a wish-granting *sāman,* by it one obtains his wish.

Sāyaṇa, at RV. v. 2. 1, paraphrases the above as follows:

1 *vṛçaḥ purodhā abhavat*
trasadasyor mahīpateḥ.
2 *sa rathaṁ dhāvayan rājā*
brāhmaṇasya kumārakam
3 *ciccheda rathacakreṇa.*
pramādāt so bravīd vṛçam
4 *purohite vartamāne*
tvayi māṁ hanti rāgatā[2]
5 *esā tvayā 'panetavyā.*
ṛṣim ity abravīn nṛpaḥ.
6 *sa ṛṣir vārçasāmnā taṁ*
kumāram udajīvayat.

[1] In the MBh., Trita curses his brothers: *paçulubdhāu yuvāṁ yasmān māṁ utsṛjya pradhāvitāu | tasmād vṛkākṛtī rāudrāu daṅṣṭriṇāv abhitaçcarāu | bhavitārāu mayā çaptāu pāpenā 'nena karmaṇā | prasavaç cāi 'va yuvayor golāṅgūlarkṣavānarāḥ,* 2114 f=50 f.

[2] So both editions. For *mā 'ṅhatir āgatā?*—ED'S.

The ÇāṭB. passage falls into two parts,[1] the *first* having its parallel in JB. iii. 94, the *second* in JB. iii. 95. Of the *first* half of the ÇāṭB. version, the following is Sāyaṇa's paraphrase:

1 *rājā trāivṛṣṇa āikṣvākas*
tryaruṇo 'bhavad asya ca
2 *purohito vṛço jāna*
ṛṣir āsīt tadā khalu
3 *saṁgṛhṇanti rathān rājñāṁ*
rakṣaṇāya purohitāḥ.
4 *tryaruṇasya vṛço raçmiṁ*
saṁjagrāha purohitaḥ.
5 *kumāro vartmani krīḍan*
rathacakreṇa ghātitaḥ.
6 *chinnaḥ kumāraç cakreṇa*
mamārā 'tha purohitaḥ
7 *tvaṁ hantā 'sye 'ti rājānaṁ*
rājā cā 'pi purohitam
8 *tvaṁ hantā 'sya kumārasya*
nā 'ham ity abravīt tadā.
9 *yatas tvaṁ rathavegasya*
niyantā 'tas tvayā hataḥ.
10 *rathasvāmī yato rājan*
tasmāt tvaṁ tasya ghātakaḥ.
11 *evaṁ vivadamānāu tāv*
ikṣvākūn praṣṭum āgatāu.
12 *tāu papracchatur ikṣvākūn*
kenā 'sāu nihato dvijāḥ.
13 *te 'bruvan rathayantāraṁ*
hantāraṁ vṛçasaṁjñakam.
14 *sa vṛço vārçasāmnā taṁ*
kumāraṁ samajīvayat.

The parallel to this part of the story in JB. iii. 94 is as follows:

vṛço[2] *vāi jānas tryaruṇasya trāivṛṣṇasyāi "kṣvākasya rājñaḥ purohita āsa. atha ha sma tataḥ purā rājabhyaḥ purohitā eva rathān saṁgṛhṇanty āupadraṣṭryāya*[3] *ned ayam pāpaṁ karavad iti. tāu hāsayantāu*[4] *brāhmaṇakumāram pathi krīḷantaṁ rathacakreṇa vicichidatuḥ.*

[1] The JB. text is so corrupt here that I have not been able to give it in *extenso*. The *lacunae* are marked.
[2] *vṛṣo.* [3] *āupadṛṣṭyāya.* [4] *hāsāvayant-.*

Verily, Vṛça Jāna was *purohita* of king Tryaruṇa Trāivṛṣṇa Āikṣvāka. Now in olden times the *purohitas* were wont to drive the chariots for their kings in order to look out for them that they did nothing wrong. These two, speeding (their horses), cut with the wheel of the chariot the son of a Brāhman who was playing in the road.

Then follow a few lines which are obscure and very corrupt; they contain a more detailed description of the cause and manner of the collision. Then follows (JB. iii. 94) the quarrel of Vṛça and the king:

sa ha vṛço . . . avatiṣṭhann uvāca tvaṁ hantā 'sī 'ti. ne 'ti ho 'vāca yo ha vāi rathaṁ saṁgṛhṇāti sa rathasye "çe tvaṁ hantā 'sī 'ti. ne 'ti he 'tara uvācā 'pa vā aham āyāṁsaṁ sa tvam abhiprāyāuṣīs tvam eva hantā 'sī 'ti. 95. tāu vāi pṛcchāvahā iti. tāu he 'kṣvākūn eva praçnam eyatuḥ. te he 'kṣvākava ūcur yo vāva rathaṁ saṁgṛhṇāti sa rathasye "çe. tvam eva hantā 'sī 'ti vṛçam eva prābruvan. so kāmayato 'd ita iyāṁ gātuṁ nāthaṁ vindeya sam ayaṁ kumāro jīved iti. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat tenāi 'naṁ samāirayad ā te dakṣam mayobhuvam (SV. ii. 487*a*=RV. ix. 65. 28*a*) *iti. prāṇā vāi dakṣāḥ prāṇān evā 'smiṁs tad adadhāt. vahnim adyā vṛṇīmahe pāntam ā puruspṛham ā mandram ā vareṇyam ā vipram ā manīṣiṇam pāntam ā puruspṛham* (SV. ii. 487*bc*, 488=RV. ix. 65. 28*bc*, 29*abc*) *iti. pānto vāi puruṣas tad enaṁ tat samāirayat tad etad bheṣajam prāyaçcitti sāma. bheṣajaṁ vāi tat prāyaçcittim akuruta. bheṣajam evāi 'tena prāyaçcittiṁ kurvate. tad u kāmasani. etaṁ vāi sa kāmam akāmayata so 'smāi kāmas samārdhyata. yatkāma evāi 'tena sāmnā stute sam asmāi sa kāma ṛdhyate.*

Vṛça . . . dismounting said: "Thou hast killed him." "No, he said, he, indeed, who drives a chariot controls the chariot; thou hast killed him." "No, said the other, I reined up (*ā-yam*) to keep off from (*apa*) [the boy]; but thou didst confuse[1] (*pra-yu*) [me so that I drove on] to (*abhi*) [him]. It is thou that hast killed him." The two said: "Let us submit the question." To the Ikṣvākus the question they submitted. The Ikṣvākus said: "None other than he who drives the chariot is controller of the chariot." It was to Vṛça that they declared: "It is thou that hast killed him." He made a wish: "Would that I might get out of this plight—might find an escape, a refuge! would that this boy might come to life again!" He saw this *sāman;* with it he brought him to life again, saying, "For thine enlivening, kindly [power]—" (Now the enlivening ones are the vital spirits; accordingly it was the vital spirits that he restored to him.)—"That bringeth gifts, we wish to-day, The *pānta* (?),

[1] Doubtful; but cf. *pra-yu*, 'mix,' at JUB. i. 8. 11, twice.

that which many crave, That lovely is, is to be wished, With inspiration, wisdom, filled, The *pānta*, that which many crave."[1] *Pānta*, indeed, is the man. So he thus restored him to life. This *sāman* is healing, expiating. He thus performed a healing, an expiation. They perform a healing, an expiation, with it. It is likewise wish-granting. Verily he wished that wish, that wish was fulfilled for him. Whatever wish one has who praises with that *sāman*, that wish is fulfilled for him.

The *second* part of the story deals with Vṛça's revenge. It is contained in JB. iii. 95. Again the text is in a very unsatisfactory condition. What I could make readable is given below.

The first clause refers to Vṛça: *sa kruddho*[2] *janam agacchad. anṛtam me*[3] *vyavocann iti. teṣāṁ he 'kṣvāḷūṇām agner haro 'pākrāmat. yaṁ sāyam odanam adyaṁ*[4] *dadhuḥ prātas so 'pacyata yam prātas sāyaṁ saḥ. te ho"cur brāhmaṇaṁ vā anāryam apārāma teṣāṁ no gner haro pākramīd etāi*[5] *'nam anumantrayāmahā iti. tam anvamantrayanta. sa agacchad yathā rājñā brāhmaṇo 'numantryamāna āgacched*[6] *evam. sa āgatyā 'kāmayata paçyeyam idam agner hara iti. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat. tad abhyagāyata. tad apaçyat. piçācī vā iyaṁ tryaruṇasya jāyā"sa.* [*sa*] *enat kaçipunā*[7] *"chādayitvā 'sya sta iti tad abhivyāharat. kumāram mātā yuvatis samubdhaṁ*[8] *guhā*[9] *bibharti*[10] *na dadāti pitre anikam*[11] *asya na minaj janāsaḥ puraḥ paçyanti nihitam arauāu* (RV. v. 2. 1). *kam etaṁ tvaṁ*[12] *yuvate kumāram peṣī*[13] *bibharṣi*[14] *mahiṣī*[15] *jajāna*[16] *pūrvīr hi garbhaç çarado vavardhā*[17] *'paçyaṁ jātaṁ yad asūta mātā* (ibid. 2). *vi jyotiṣā bṛhatā bhāty agnir āvir viçvāni kṛṇute mahitvā prā 'devīr māyās sahate durevāḥ çiçīte çṛṅge rakṣase*[18] *vinikṣe* (ibid. 9). *uta svānāso divi ṣantv agnes tigmāyudhā*[19] *rakṣase hantavā u made cid asya pra*[20]

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[1] Here I have followed Sāyaṇa, save that I make the adjectives of 29 qualify *dakṣam*. Pischel takes *te* as accusative, and *dakṣam* as an adjective qualifying it. This is probably right; but I presume that the author of our Brāhmaṇa understood the passage nearly as does Sāyaṇa. Respecting *pānta*, even the old commentators were in doubt—see Muir, JRAS., NS., ii. 343; Sāyaṇa glosses it with *çatrubhyo rakṣakam, sarvêṣāṁ rakṣakam;* Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* i. 194, refers it to the stem *paya*, root *pī, pyā*, 'swell.' Pischel's version 'swelling' gives a tolerable sense to *pānto vāi puruṣaḥ*, which thus refers either to the body's swelling with the entering breath, or else to the bloating of the corpse —cf. ÇB. xiv. 6. 2. 12, *sa ucchvayaty ādhmāyaty ādhmāto mṛtaḥ çete.*

[2] *Kṛddho.*

[3] MS. *mā.*—The word *vyavocan* seems so plainly to refer to the "submitted question" (*praçna*, the natural object of *vi-vac*—see PW.), already implied in *pṛcchāvahāi* and *praçnam eyatuḥ*, that one is tempted to alter *mā* to *me*.—Ed's.—Cf. BAU. iii. 8. 5; 9. 26.

[4] *adya.* [5] *ete.* [6] *-chad.* [7] *kaçup-.* [8] *samugdh-.*
[9] *-ham.* [10] *birbhati.* [11] *tranīk.* [12] *tvadh.* [13] *veṣī.*
[14] *-ī.* [15] *-ī.* [16] *jyāna.* [17] *vardhā.* [18] *-so.* [19] *tag-.* [20] *pu.*

rujanti bhāmā na varante[1] *paribādho*[2] *adevīr* (ibid. 10) *ity evāi 'nām idam agner hara ūrdhvam*[3] *udadravat*[4] *sarvān prādahat. tato vāi te yathāyatham agner haro vyaharanta yathāyatham ebhyo 'gnir apacat.*

He (Vṛça), angered, went to people, saying, "Wrongly have they decided [the question] for me." Thereupon the strength departed from the fire of these Ikṣvākus. What mush they placed on their fire in the evening for their food, that was [not] done [until] morning; and what [mush they placed on the fire] in the morning, that [was not done until] evening. They said: "We have dishonorably sent away a Brāhman; therefore from our fire the strength hath departed. Come, let us summon him. They summoned him. He came, even as a Brāhman might come when summoned by a king. Having come, he wished: "Would that I might behold here the strength of the fire."[5] He saw this *sāman*. [With this *sāman*] he exorcised[6] it [i. e. the *haras*]. He did behold it.[7] Now this wife of Tryaruṇa was a Piçācī. He (V.), having covered it [*agner haras*, the now quickened fire] over with a mat, addressed it with the words *asya sta* (?). Straight upon the recitation of RV. v. 2. 1, 2, 9, and 10, this consuming fire was running unto her, up (*ūrdhvam*) [and] out (*ud-*) [from under the mat, and] was burning all [the bystanders]. Thereupon they [the Ikṣvākus] duly carried home each his share of [lit. carried asunder, *vihar*] the quickened fire, [and] the fire began cooking [again] duly for them.

The corresponding passage of the ÇāṭB. is thus converted into verse (at RV. v. 2. 1) by Sāyaṇa:

15 *yata ikṣvākavo rāgād*
dhantāram ṛṣim abruvan
16 *tasmāt teṣāṁ gṛheṣv agnes*
tejo nirgatam eṣu ca.
17 *gṛhe pākādayo nā "san.*
tatkāraṇam acintayan.
18 *vṛçaṁ kumārahantāraṁ*
yad avocāma tena naḥ
19 *apākramad dharo vahner.*
āhvayāma vṛçaṁ vayam
20 *iti saṁcitya tam ṛṣim*
āhvayām āsur ādarāt.

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[1] *varunte.* [2] *paru-.* [3] *ūdhvam.* [4] *udravat.*

[5] That is, a fire with some *haras* or power in it, a powerful or consuming fire. The Ikṣvākus' fire was still there, but too feeble to cook effectively. In nineteenth-century English, their fire had "lost its grip," its power to attack, consume, cook, etc., in short, its *haras*, just as Indra lost his *vīrya*. [6] He sang-unto it, incantavit.

[7] That is, again, the *haras*, in answer to his wish and exorcism.

21 *samāgatya tataḥ çighraṁ*
teṣām agner haro bhavet
22 *iti vārçena sāmnā 'sāv*
akāmayata pūrvavat.
23 *evaṁ gāyan sa ṛṣir brahmahatyām*
bhāryājātāṁ trasadasyor nṛpasya
24 *piçācaveṣāṁ hara ādāya cā 'gner*
gṛhān nītvā kaçipāu sthāpayantīm
25 *dṛṣṭvā saṁyak tad dharas toṣayitvā*
sāmnā paçcād yojayām āsa cā 'gnim.
26 *tataḥ sateǰāḥ saṁjāto*
'bhavat pākādiḥ pūrvavat.

Finally, a word may be said concerning the legends themselves. It will be seen that they appear in JB. in a form which cannot lay claim to great antiquity. They are worked out with considerable prolixity, new details have been grafted on the old stock, and, as a whole, they bear the stamp of their ritualistic redactors. They furnish another reason why the compilation going under the name of the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa should not be placed chronologically very far back among the earliest strata of Brāhmanical writings.

I now proceed to give the ÇāṭB. fragments with their parallels.

I. An Upaniṣad of the Çāṭyāyanins.

Çaṁkara, in his Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras iii. 3. 25, has the following: *asty ātharvaṇikānām upaniṣadārambhe mantrasamāmnāyaḥ sarvam pravidhya hṛdayam pravidhya dhamanīḥ pravṛjya çiro 'bhipravṛjya tridhā vipṛkta ityādiḥ. sa tāṇḍināṁ deva savitaḥ prasuva yajñam ityādiḥ. çāṭyāyaninām çvetāçvo haritanīlo 'sī 'tyādiḥ. kaṭhānāṁ tāittirīyakāṇāṁ ca çaṁ no mitraḥ çaṁ varuṇa ityādiḥ. vājasaneyināṁ tū 'panisadārambhe pravargyabrāhmaṇam paṭhyate devā ha vāi sattraṁ niṣedur ityādiḥ. kāuṣītakinām apy agniṣṭomabrāhmaṇam brahma vā agniṣṭomo brahmāi 'va tad ahar brahmaṇāi 'va te brahmo 'payanti te 'mṛtatvam āpnuvanti ya etad ahar upasaṁyantī 'ti.*

This Upaniṣad is apparently different from the one contained in manuscript no. 3183 of the India Office Library, and noticed elsewhere (see Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 640), and of which Eggeling, *Catalogue*, i., p. 130, gives the beginning and end.

But the first seventeen chapters of book four of the Jāiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa have a special *vaṅça* and are marked as containing the Upaniṣad of the Çāṭyāyanins on the *gāyatra-sāman* (iv. 17. 2 *sāi 'ṣā çāṭyāyanī gāyatrasyo 'paniṣad evam upāsitavyā*). They really begin with *çvetāçvo darçato harināḻo 'si*, which, excepting the second word, is like Çaṁkara's quotation.

II. Indra cures Apālā.

For previous discussions of this story, see: Kuhn, *Indische Studien*, i. 118; Aufrecht, *Ibidem*, iv. 1; Max Müller, *Rigveda*[2], vol. iii., p. 33; or *Rigveda*[1], vol. iv., p. 42; Oldenberg, ZDMG., 1895, vol. xxxix., p. 76; Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, vol. i., p. 292. Compare also A. de Gubernatis, *Die Thiere in der indog. Mythologie*, 1874, pp. 14, 340.

The TMB., at ix.2.14, has a similar story about the Aṅgirasī Akūpārā. The following is an English version:

Akūpārā was an Aṅgirasī. As the skin of a lizard (*godhā*), so was her skin. Indra having thrice cleansed her by means of this *sāman* (i. e. SV. i. 167=RV. viii. 81. 1, which is therefore called *ākūpāram*, TMB. ix. 2. 13.) made her sun-skinned; verily that she then had wished. Whatever desire they cherish when they praise with this *sāman*, that desire is fulfilled for them.

The commentator adds the following:

There was an Aṅgirasī Akūpārā by name. As the skin of a lizard (*godhā*) is, so was her skin. She being of bad skin, like a lizard, praised Indra. He, being pleased, having three times[1] hidden her with this *sāman* in the hole of the chariot etc., made her sun-skinned. Thus runs a *mantra*-text: 'In the hole of the chariot,[2] in the hole of the cart, in the hole of the yoke, O Çatakratu, O Indra, having thrice[3] cleansed Apālā, hast thou made her sun-skinned' (RV. viii. 91. 7), etc.

Sāyaṇa introduces RV. viii. 91 with the following *itihāsa:*

In times gone by, Atri's daughter, Apālā, a pious woman, having through some action or other become afflicted with skin-disease and thereupon been discarded by her husband [who considered her] unlucky, performed for a long time penance in her father's hermitage in order to get rid of the skin-disease, addressing herself chiefly to Indra. At one time, knowing: "The Soma is Indra's favorite, that I will give to Indra," she went forth to the river-road. Having bathed there, she picked up some soma in the path. Taking it [and] returning home, she chewed it on the way. Now when she ate it, Indra approached, thinking that the sound produced by the munching of the teeth was the soma-pressure noise of the pressing-stones. And approaching, he said to her: "Are the pressing-stones pressing here?" She answered: "A girl here, having gone to bathe, seeing some soma, is eating

[1] Read *trivāraṁ* for *trirāram* of the Bibl. Ind.
[2] Read *khe rathasya khe* for *yasya kha* of the Bibl. Ind.
[3] Read *indra* for *indro* and insert *triṣ*.

it ; the noise comes from [her] eating it, but it is not the soma-pressure noise of the pressing-stones." Thus answered, Indra went straight away. She again said to Indra as he went: "Why dost thou turn away? Yet thou goest to every house in order to drink soma. Drink now here also the soma pressed with my teeth, and eat [food] consisting of grain, etc." And, not being heeded, she again said to Indra: "I do not know thee, having come here, to be Indra; when thou hast come to the house, I will do honor to thee." Having thus addressed Indra, and discerning: "It is Indra who hath come and no other," she spoke to the soma contained in her mouth: "Ho, soma! Flow thou around for Indra who hath come, first slowly, then gradually fast." Then Indra, longing for her, drank the soma pressed by her teeth in her mouth. Now when the soma had been drunk by Indra, upon Apālā's saying: "Being discarded by my husband on account of my skin-disease, I am now united with Indra," Indra said to her: "What thou desirest, that I will do." When he had spoken thus, she desired a boon. Upon her saying: "My father's head is without hair; his field, land, is without plants, etc.; my private parts also are not hairy; make these possessing hair, plants, etc.," he brought to an end the baldness on her father's head, and the field he made covered with plants, etc., and for the cure of her skin-disease he pulled her out three times through the hole of his own chariot [and] through the hole of the cart and of the yoke. The skin of her which was first cast off became a porcupine (*çalyaka*), the second a lizard (*godhā*), the third a chameleon (*kṛkalāsa*). Then Indra made this Apālā having a sun-like skin. So runs the *itihāsa*-tale (*āitihāsikī kathā*).

The Bṛhaddevatā[1] and Ṣaḍguruçiṣya[2] tell the story practically as Sāyaṇa does, omitting however Indra's miracle concerning the baldness of Apālā's father, etc. (=paraphrase of RV. viii. 91. 5 and 6).

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[1] The text of the Bṛhaddevatā given by Müller in the *var. lect.* on RV. viii. 91 differs somewhat from that of R. Mitra's edition (vi. 100–108, p. 175). The 8½ ślokas in Müller's MS. seem to be numbered 907–915 (see *second* ed. of RV., vol. iii., p. 37, l. 4), and by those numbers we will designate them, using *abcd* to indicate the pādas, and asterisks to show where the texts differ.

Müller.	Mitra.	Müller.	Mitra.
907 *a–d*	= 100 *a–d*	911 *c, d*	= 105 *a, b**
908 *a, b*	= 101 *a, b*	912 *a, b*	= 105 *c, d*
908 *c, d*	= 102 *c, d**	912 *c, d*	= 106 *a, b*
909 *a, b, c, d*	= 103 *a*, b*, c, d**	913 *a, b*	= 106 *c, d*
910 *a, b*	= 104 *a, b**	913 *c, d*	= 107 *a,* b**
910 *c, d*	= 101 *c d*	914 *a, b*	= 107 *c, d*
911 *a, b*	= 104 *c d*	914 *c, d*	= 108 *a,* b**
		915 *a, b*	= 108 *c,* d**

Pādas 102*ab* of Mitra's recension (*dṛṣṭvā somam apād āsye tuṣṭāva rcā vane tu tam*) are wanting in Müller.

[2] See note [1], next page.

The JB., at i. 220, like the TMB., tells of Apālā in connection with SV. i. 167 (=ṚV. viii. 81. 1) "*ā tū na indra kṣumantam.*" To this *sāman* the JB. gives two names, viz: *vāiṇavam* and *āpālam.* The former it explains as follows: *veṇur vāi vāiçvāmitro 'kamāyatā 'gryo mukhyo brahmavarcasī syām iti. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat. tenā 'stuta. tato vāi so gryo mukhyo brahmavarcasy abhavat. agryo mukhyo brahmavarcasī bhavati ya evaṁ veda. yad u veṇur vāiçvāmitro 'paçyat tasmād vāiṇavam ity ākhyāyate.* Then it continues: *tad v evā 'cakṣata āpālam iti* and the Apālā-story follows.

I now give the text of the Jāiminīya version (i. 220) of the Apālā story, with the parallels from the Çāṭyāyana (found in Sāyaṇa's comments to ṚV. viii. 91. 1, 3, 5, 7) subjoined, line by line, so far as they exist:

JB. Çāṭṭ. *apālā ha vā ātreyī tilakā*[2] *vā duṣṭatvacā*[3] *vā*[4] *'py āsa.*

sā 'kāmayatā 'pa[5] *pāpaṁ*[6] *varṇaṁ hanīye 'ti. sāi 'tat sāmā*

'paçyat. tenā 'stuta. sā tīrtham abhyavayatī[7] *somāñçum*
sā tīrtham abhyavayantī somāñçum

avindat. taṁ samakhādat. tasyāi ha grāvāṇa iva dantā ūduḥ.
avindat. taṁ samakhādat. tasyāi ha grāvāṇa iva dantā ūduḥ.

sa indra ādravad[9] *grāvāṇo*[9] *vāi vadantī 'ti. sā 'bhivyāharat*[10]
sa indra ādravad grāvāṇo vāi vadantī 'ti. sā tam abhivyājahāra

kanyā vār avāyatī somam api srutā 'vidad astam bharanty
kanyā vār avāyatī somam api srutā 'vidad

abravīd indrāya sunavāi tvā çakrāya sunavāi tve 'ti. asyāi
iti. asyāi

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[1] Quite a number of lines of the Bṛhaddevatā occur again in Ṣaḍguruçiṣya:

Ṣaḍg.	Mitra.	Müller.	Ṣaḍg.	Mitra.	Müller.
1 *a, b*	= 100 *a, b*	= 907 *a, b*	5 *b**	=103 *d*	=909 *d*
1 *c, d*	....	....	5 *c, d*	....	....
2 *a-d*	....	....	6 *a*	=101 *c*	=910 *c*
3 *a, b*	....	....	6 *b*	....	....
3 *c, d*	= 100 *c, d*	= 907 *c, d*	6 *c**	=104 *c*	=911 *a*
4 *a, b*	= 101 *a, b*	= 908 *a, b*	6 *d**	=105 *b*	=911 *d*
4 *c**	= 108 *a*	= 909 *a*	7 *a*-d*	=106 *a-d*	=912 *c, d*, 913 *a, b*
4 *d*	....	....	8 *a*	....	....
5 *a*	....	....	8 *b**	=107 *b*	=913 *d*
			8 *c, d**	=107 *c, d*	=914 *a, b*

[2] *C.* reads *-ka. Tilakā* seems to be a possessive adjective.
[3] *A.* reads *ruchvasā*; *C.*, *ruchçvasā*; *D.*, *rucchvasā. duṣṭatvacā* is my doubtful conjecture: cf. comm. on TMB. ix. 2. 14, *sā godheva duṣṭatvacā satī.* [4] *C.* omits. [5] *A.* and *C.* have *pā.* [6] *C.* has *pavam.*
[7] This is better than Sāyaṇa's *-yantī.* [8] *A.* has *ādava.*
[9] *A.* has *ā grāvāṇo.* The *ā* might go with *vadantī.*
[10] *Abhivyāharat* does not require an object. Of Sāyaṇa's MSS., *A.* and *Ca.* read as JB. does. Müller supplied *tam* from the reading *sāmabhivya-* in C_2 and C_4.

vā idaṁ grāvāṇa iva dantā vadantī 'ti viditve 'ndraḥ parāñ
ta idaṁ grāvāṇa iva dantā vadantī 'ti viditve 'ndraḥ parāñ

āvartata. tam abravīd asāu ya eṣi vīrako gṛhaṁ-gṛhaṁ
āvartata. tam abravīd asāu ya eṣi vīraka ityādine

vicākaçad imaṁ jambhasutam piba dhānāvantaṁ karambhi-

ṇam apūpavantam ukthinam iti. anādriyamāṇāi[1] *'vāi*[2] *'tam*
'ti. anādriyamāṇāi 'va tam

abravīd ā cana tvā cikitsāmo 'dhi cana tvā ne 'masī 'ti purā
abravīd ā cana tvā cikitsāmo 'dhi cana tvā ne 'masī 'ti purā

mā sarvaya rcā[3] *'pālā*[4] *stāutī 'ty apaparyāvartata.*[5] *çanāir*
māṁ sarvaya rcā 'pālā stāutī 'ty upaparyāvartata. çanāir

iva çanakāir[6] *ive 'ndrāye 'ndo pari srave 'ty evā 'syāi mukh-*
iva çanakāir ive 'ndrāye 'ndo pari srave 'ti ha vā asyāi mukh-

āt somaṁ niradhayat. somapītha[7] *iva ha vā asya*[8] *sa bhavati*
āt somaṁ niradhayat. somapītha iha vā asya bhavati

ya evaṁ vidvān striyāi mukham upajighrati[9] (221) *tām abra-*
ya evaṁ vidvān strīm upajighrati. tām abra-

vīd apāle kiṁkāmā 'sī 'ti sā 'bravīd imāni trīṇi viṣṭapā tānī
vīd apāle kiṁ kāmayasī 'ti sā 'bravīd imāni trīṇi viṣṭape

'ndra vi rohaya çiras tatasyo 'rvarām ād idam ma upodare

sarvā tā romaçā kṛdhī 'ti khalatir hā 'syāi pitā "sa taṁ hā
'ti khalatir hā 'syāi pitā "sa[10] *taṁ hā*

'khalatiṁ cakāro 'rvarā hā 'sya na jajñe so ha jajña upasthe
'khalatiṁ cakāro 'rvarā hā 'sya na jajñe so jajña upasthe

hā 'syāi romāṇi nā "sus tāny u ha jajñire tāṁ khe rathasyā
hā 'syāi romāṇi nā "sus tāny u ha jajñire tāṁ khe rathasyā

'tyabṛhat sā godhā[11] *'bhavat tāṁ khe 'naso 'tyabṛhat sā*[12] *kṛkalā-*
'tyabṛhat sā godhā 'bhavat tāṁ khe 'naso 'tyabṛhat

sy abhavat tāṁ khe yugasyā 'tyabṛhat sā saṁçviṣṭikā[13] *'bhavat*
sā saṁçliṣṭakā 'bhavat

tad eṣā 'bhyanūcyate khe rathasya khe 'nasaḥ khe yugasya
tad eṣā 'bhyanūcyate khe rathasya khe 'nasa

çatakrato 'pālām indra triṣ pūtvy akṛṇos sūryatvacam iti.
iti.

tasyāi ha yat kalyāṇatamaṁ rūpāṇāṁ tad rūpam āsa. tad
tasyāi ha yat kalyāṇatamaṁ rūpāṇāṁ tad rūpam āsa.

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[1] *-ṇa.* [2] *evāi.* [3] *A. yā, C. çcā, D. cca.* [4] *parā.*
[5] *C. āpa-*; the Çāṭ. reading is better. [6] *A.* omits *iva çanakāir.*
[7] *C. -pidha.* [8] *'sya.* [9] *C. avaji-.*
[10] Sāyaṇa's *pitāsa* is *pitā "sa* rather than *pitā. sa.* [11] *A. go.*
[12] *sā kṛkalāsy abhavat tāṁ khe yugasyā 'tyabṛhat* fills the lacuna in ÇāṭB. I have left *kṛkalāsy* unchanged, because the feminine seemed not inappropriate, and Sāyaṇa had probably the same form (Müller's *Rigveda*[2] iii., p. 549, line 26), where the MSS. read *kṛkalāsyo.* The name of the third animal, *saṁçviṣṭikā* or *saṁçliṣṭakā*, remains obscure.
[13] So all MSS.

etat kāmasani sāmāi 'taṁ vāi sā kāmam akāmayata so 'syāi kāmas samārdhyata. yatkāma evāi 'tena sāmnā stute sam asmāi sa kāma ṛdhyate yad v apālā "treyy apaçyat tasmād āpālam ity ākhyāyate.

The following is a translation of the JB. version (i. 220):

Apālā Ātreyī had moles or a bad skin. She desired: "May I get rid of my bad complexion." She saw this *sāman;* with it she praised. She, going down to the road, found a soma-stalk. This she chewed; her teeth, indeed, sounded like the pressing-stones. (Thinking:) "The pressing-stones are sounding," Indra ran thither. She recited: "The girl going down to the water hath found the soma in the road (?); taking it home, she said: 'To Indra I will press thee, to Çakra I will press thee' (RV. viii. 91. 1)." Having found out: "Verily her teeth sound thus like pressing-stones," Indra turned straight away. She said to him: "Thou who yonder goest, a manikin, looking around at every house, drink this tooth-pressed [soma], accompanied by grain, mush, cake, and *uktha* (RV. viii. 91. 2)." Not being heeded, she said to him: "We do not desire to perceive thee (?), we do not understand thee (RV. viii. 91. $3^{a, b}$)." Thinking: "Till now Apālā hath praised me with a complete stanza," he (Indra) turned back again. (At the words:) "Gradually, as it were, quite gradually, as it were, flow round about for Indra, O Indu (RV. viii. 91. $3^{c, d}$)," he verily sucked the soma from her mouth. If any one thus knowing kisses the mouth of a woman, that becomes a soma-draught for him. He said to her: "Apālā, what is thy desire?" She said: "These three surfaces, o Indra, cause to grow over; the father's head, the field, and here upon my genitals; all these make hairy (RV. viii. 91. 5 and 6^{a})." Bald indeed was her father; he (Indra) cured his baldness. His field, indeed, did not grow, and it grew. On her genitals, indeed, there was no hair, and that grew. He pulled her out in the hole of the chariot, she became a lizard; he pulled her out in the hole of the cart, she became a (female) chameleon; he pulled her out in the hole of the yoke, she became a *saṁçviṣṭikā* (?). About this there is this [stanza]: "In the hole of the chariot, in the hole of the cart, in the hole of the yoke, O Çatakratu, thrice, O Indra, having cleansed her, thou hast made her sun-skinned (RV. viii. 91. 7)." That form was hers which is the most beautiful of forms. That same is a wish-granting *sāman;* verily she wished that wish, [and] that wish of hers was fulfilled. If anyone having a wish praises with that *sāman,* that wish is fulfilled for him. And because Apālā Ātreyī saw it, therefore it is termed the *āpāla* (*-sāman*).

It will be seen that all the essential points of the legend are

contained in the TMB. version : viz., Apālā's disease, the soma-offering, Indra's cure of Apālā by thrice pulling her through certain holes of his chariot. It does not say that Apālā actually *shed* her skin, nor anything about the transformation of the cast-off skins into animals, nor does it mention the three miracles of Indra (cure of Apālā's father's baldness, etc.)[1] The next step in the development of the legend was probably suggested by the phrase *tasyā yathā godhāyās tvag evaṁ tvag āsīt* ("her skin was like that of a lizard," i. e. spotted). Nothing was more natural than actually turning this skin, when cast off, into a lizard (so Sāyaṇa, Bṛhaddevatā, Ṣaḍguruçiṣya). But Indra pulled her *three* times through the holes of the chariot ; and therefore two other animals had to be added into which the other two skins of her might be transformed. I do not think that the difference in order (*çalyaka, godhā, kṛkalāsa*) in Sāyaṇa, Bṛhaddevatā, and Ṣaḍguruçiṣya is a sufficiently weighty argument against this. The JB. and ÇāṭB. have *godhā* first ; but they differ from the rest in this, that, whereas all the other versions change the cast-off *skins* into three animals, the text here seems to refer to a change of Apālā *herself* into a *godhā, kṛkalāsī*, and *saṁçliṣṭakā* or *saṁçviṣṭikā*.

III. Indra, Kutsa, and Luça.

The TMB., at ix. 2. 22 (the passage is referred to by Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 154), in explanation of the term *kāutsam* for SV. i. 381 (=RV. viii. 13. 1), "*indra*[2] *suteṣu someṣu*," gives the story, of which the following is a translation :

Kutsa and Luça in rivalry called each upon Indra. Indra turned towards Kutsa. He (K.) bound him (I.) with a hundred straps by the scrotum. Luça said to him (I.) : "Free thyself from Kutsa, come hither ; why, pray, should one like thee remain bound by the scrotum (RV. x. 38. 5[b]) ?"[3] Having cut them, he (I.) ran forth. Kutsa saw this *sāman* (i. e. SV. i. 381); with it he called after him (I.) ; he (I.) turned [back]."—The commentary merely paraphrases.

Sāyaṇa, in the comment on RV. x. 38. 5, quotes, besides the subjoined passage from the ÇāṭB., a brief extract from the Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa, which runs, in English version, as follows :

Kutsa and Luça called at the same time upon Indra for every part of their respective sacrifices. From friendship Indra went to Kutsa. But when of his free will he had come, Kutsa bound him with a hundred straps by the scrotum.

The JB., i. 228, like the TMB., tells the story in explanation of the term *kāutsam* for SV. i. 381.

The continuation of the story (the compromise of Indra and the two contending ṛṣis) is a curious later development. Luça's hymn is the same as that which Kutsa used, but adapted to the

[1] These miracles are also omitted by the Bṛhaddevatā and by Ṣaḍguruçiṣya.

[2] RV. reads *indraḥ*.

[3] The RV. has the var. lect. *āṇḍayor* for *muṣkayor*.

sāman-chant; cf. Bibl. Indica, ed. of the SV., vol. i. p. 783 II: $\overset{3}{\text{i}}\overset{2}{\text{ndrā}}\overset{1}{\text{3 hoï}}$ | $\overset{3}{\text{have}}\overset{2}{\text{3}}\overset{1}{\text{ hoi}}$.

I give below, the text of the Jāiminīya version (i. 228) of the Kutsa-Luça story, with the parallels from the Çāṭyāyana (as quoted by Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 38. 5) subjoined, line by line, so far as they appear:

JB. *kutsaç ca luçaç ce 'ndraṁ vyahvayetām. sa kutsasya*
ÇāṭB. *kutsaç ca luçaç ce 'ndraṁ vyahvayetām. sa kutsasyā*

havam[1] *āgacchat.*[2] *taṁ çatena vārdhrībhir āṇḍayor abadhnāt.*
'havam āgacchat. taṁ çatena vārdhrībhir āṇḍayor abadhnāt.

taṁ luço 'bhyavadat svavṛjaṁ hi tvām aham indra çuçravā
taṁ luço 'bhyavadat svavṛjaṁ hi tvām aham indra çuçravā

'nānudaṁ vṛṣabha radhracodanam pra muñcasva pari kutsād
'nānudaṁ vṛṣabha radhracodanam pra muñcasva pari kutsād

ihā "gahi kim u tvāvān muṣkayor baddha āsata iti. tās sarvās
ihā "gahi kim u tvāvān muṣkayor baddha āsata iti. tāḥ sarvāḥ

saṁlupya luçam abhiprādravat. taṁ[3] *kutsa indra suteṣu*
saṁlupya luçam abhiprādudruvat.

someṣv ity anvāhvayat. tam abhyāvartata. taṁ luça indrā

hoyi have hoyī 'ti. tāv antarā 'tiṣṭhat. tāv abravīd aṅçam

āharetam[4] *ātmanā vām anyatarasya pāsyāmi mahimnā 'nya-*

tarasye 'ti. tathe 'ti. tāv aṅçam āharetām. ātmānam anyatara

udajayan mahimānam anyataraḥ. ātmānaṁ kutsa udajayan

mahimānaṁ luçaḥ. ātmanā 'nyatarasyā 'piban mahimnā

'nyatarasya. ātmanā kutsasyā 'piban mahimnā luçasya. ubhāu[5]

ha vāva[6] *tasya tāv ātmānāu yad ātmā ca mahimā ca. tad etat*

sendraṁ sāma. sendro hā 'sya sadevo yajño bhavaty abhi[7] *sen-*

dro yajñam āvartate nā 'sendro yajñād apakrāmati[8] *ya evaṁ*

veda. yad u kutso 'paçyat tasmāt kāutsam ity ākhyāyate. tad

āiḷam acchāvākasāma bhavati. paçavo vā iḷā paçuṣv evāi

'tat pratitiṣṭhati.

[1] *A. havām; C. cavam.* [2] *C.-an.* [3] *C. tat.* [4] *A. āharet; C. āharetam.*
[5] *C. hāv.* [6] *tvāva.* [7] *A. aṁbhya; C. abha.* [8] *C. apākrāmayati.*

The following is a translation of the JB. version (i. 228):

Kutsa and Luça called in rivalry upon Indra. He came to Kutsa's offering. He (K.) bound him (I.) with a hundred straps by the scrotum. Luça addressed him (I.): "I have heard of thee, o Indra, as one who himself catches,[1] holding thine own, o bull, urging the miserly;[2] free thyself from Kutsa; come hither; why should one like thyself remain bound by the scrotum? (RV. x. 38. 5)." He, having torn them all, ran toward Luça. Kutsa called after him: "O Indra, in the pressed somas (SV. i. 381)." He (I.) turned back to him (K.). Luça [addressed] him: "*Indrā hoyi have hoyi.*" He (I.) stood between the two. He said to them both: "Take a part; of one of you I will drink with the self, of the other with greatness." "Yes." They both took a part; one obtained the self, the other the greatness. Kutsa obtained the self, Luça the greatness. With the self he drank of one, with greatness of the other. With the self he drank of Kutsa, with greatness of Luça. Verily these are his two selves, viz. the self and greatness. That same *sāman* (SV. i. 381) secures Indra's attendance [lit., has Indra with it]. Attended by Indra, attended by the gods, becomes the sacrifice of him, who knows this; attended by Indra unto the sacrifice he approaches, not unattended by Indra from the sacrifice he departs, who knows this. And because Kutsa saw it, therefore is it called *kāutsam.* It is a vigor-containing invitation-*sāman.* The cattle indeed are vigor; in the cattle it stands firm.

IV. The trirātra and RV. vii. 33. 7.

The short passage from the ÇāṭB. is given by Sāyaṇa on RV. vii. 33. 7. The JB. parallel is found at ii. 239 and 240. It resembles TMB. xx. 15. 1–5 so closely that I have added that text in the second line. The end of JB. ii. 240 contains the Indra-legend which corresponds to TMB. xx. 15. 6.

JB. *atha 'te trirātrāḥ. trirātreṇa vāi devā eṣu lokeṣv*
TMB. 1. *etena vāi devā eṣu lokeṣv*

ārdhnuvaṅs trirātreṇa svargaṁ lokam āyan. vāg vāi tri-
ārdhnuvann etena svargaṁ lokam āyan. 2. vāg vāi tri-

rātro vāco rūpeṇā "jyāni cā 'hāni [ca] vibhajyante. ekākṣarā
rātro vāco rūpeṇā "jyāni cā 'hāni ca vibhajyante. ekākṣarā

vāi vāk tryakṣaram akṣaram. akṣarasya rūpeṇa vibhajyante.
vāi vāk tryakṣaram akṣaram. akṣarasya rūpeṇa vibhajyante.

trayo gandharvāḥ. teṣām eṣā bhaktir agneḥ pṛthivī vāyor
trayo gandharvāḥ. teṣām eṣā bhaktir agneḥ pṛthivī vāyor

antarikṣasāmāv ādityasya dyāuḥ. tad eṣā 'bhyanūcyate trayaḥ
antarikṣasāmāv ādityasya dyāuḥ.

kṛṇvanti bhuvaneṣu retas tisraḥ prajā āryā jyotiragrās trayo
trayo

[1] *I. e.* is not caught by others; differently Geldner, *l. c.*
[2] So after Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* i. 124.

gharmāsa uṣasaṁ[1] *sacante sarvāṁ*[2] *it tāṁ*[3] *anu vidur vasiṣṭhā gharmāsa uṣasaṁ sacante*

JB. TMB. ÇāṭB. *iti. yad āha trayaḥ kṛṇvanti bhuvaneṣu reta ity agniḥ trayaḥ kṛṇvanti bhuvaneṣu reta ity agniḥ*

pṛthivyāṁ retaḥ kṛṇoti vāyur antarikṣa ādityo divi. tisraḥ pṛthivyāṁ retaḥ kṛṇoti vāyur antarikṣa ādityo divi. tisraḥ

prajā āryā jyotiragrā iti. (242) *vasavo rudrā ādityās teṣām prajā āryā jyotiragrā iti. vasavo rudrā ādityās tāsāṁ*

etaj[4] *jyotir agraṁ yad asāv ādityaḥ. trayo gharmāsa uṣasaṁ jyotir yad asāv ādityaḥ. trayo gharmāsa uṣasaṁ*

sacanta ity. agnir uṣasaṁ sacate vāyur uṣasaṁ sacata
3. *agnir uṣasaṁ sacate vāyur uṣasaṁ sacate ʻsāv*
sacanta ity. agnir uṣasaṁ sacate vāyur uṣasaṁ sacata

āditya uṣasaṁ sacate sarvāṁ[5] *it tāṁ*[6] *anuvidur vasiṣṭhā iti.*
āditya uṣasaṁ sacate
āditya uṣasaṁ sacate

JB. TMB. *ye vāi brāhmaṇāç çuçruvāṅsas te vasiṣṭhās te hy etat sarvam anuviduḥ. etāvān vāva trirātraḥ. gāyatraḥ prāṇas*

trāiṣṭubhaṁ cakṣur jāgataṁ çrotram. trīṇi mithunāni
4. *trīṇi mithunāni*

tāny eṣu mithunaṁ dve sambhavato yan mithunāt pra-
tāny eṣaḥ.[7] 5. *mithunaṁ dve sambhavato mithunād yat pra-*
jāyate tat[8] *tṛtīyam.*
jāyate tat tṛtīyam.

V. The subrahmaṇyā.

The short fragment from the ÇāṭB. is quoted by Sāyaṇa on RV. i. 51. 13. The quotation from the school of the Tāṇḍins which he adds is very much like ṢB. i. 1. 16.[9] I give the whole passage of the JB. (ii. 78–80) for comparison with ṢB. i. 1. 1ff, ÇB. iii. 3. 4. 17ff, and AB. vi. 3. 1ff.

In discussing the subrahmaṇyā ceremony, Lāṭyāyana (ÇS. i. 2. 24) quotes from the ÇāṭB. *ubhāv iti çāṭyāyanakam* (commentary: *ubhāv apy anaḍvāhāu deyāv iti çāṭyāyanake çrutiḥ*). To this there seems to be no parallel in the JB.

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[1] *-sas.* [2] *sarvaṁ.* [3] *uktam* for *it tāṁ*; but see below.
[4] *eti.* The conjecture is doubtful. [5] *sarvaṁ.* [6] *taṁ.*
[7] The Bibl. Ind. text has *eṣa*, the comment. *eṣaḥ.* [8] *tā.*
[9] Sāyaṇa: *vṛṣaṇaçvasya menā nāma duhitā "sa tām indraç cakāma.* The ṢB.: *vṛṣaṇaçvasya ha menasya menakā nāma duhitā "sa. tāṁ he 'ndraç cakame.*

The text of JB. ii. 78–80 follows :

brahma ca ha vāi subrahma cāi[1] *'ṣu lokeṣv āsatur asmin bhuvane. tatas*[2] *subrahmo 'ccakrāma. asāu vā ādityo brahmā 'tho vāg eva subrahma.*[3] *te*[4] *devā ihāi 'va vedyā antarvedi yajñena brahma paryagṛhṇan. tad idam apy etarhi vedyā antarvedi yajñena brahma parigṛhītam. tad āhur yad anyā hotrā antarvedi kurvanty atha katham subrahmaṇyo bahirvedi karotī 'ti. sa brūyād eṣa vedyā ātmā yad utkara etat pratyakṣam brahma yat subrahmaṇyā. yad utkaram āsthāya subrahmaṇyām āhvayati tenā 'syā*[5] *'ntarvedi kṛtam bhavatī 'ti. subrahmaṇyoṁ subrahmaṇyoṁ*[6] *subrahmaṇyoṁ*[6] *iti trir āha. vāg vāi subrahmaṇyā tad etāṁ vācam prathamata ārabhate 'tho brahma vāg rasa okāras tām etāṁ vācaṁ rasena prīṇāti. tad dhāi 'tad eka oṁ subrahmaṇye 'ty āhvayanti*[7] (79) *prāṇo hy agre 'tha vāg iti. tad dha tan na tathā. yathā madhv āsicya lājān*[8] *āvapet tad anyathāi 'va syāt tādṛk tat. tasmāt subrahmaṇyom ity evā "hvayet. indrā "gacche 'ti. indram eva tad yajña āhvayati. hariva āgacche 'ti. haribhyām āyāhī 'ti vāvāi 'naṁ tad āha. prāṇāpānāu vā asya harī tāu hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ hartārāu harato 'tho*[9] *ahorātrāu vā asya harī tāu hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ hartārāu haratah. medhātither*[10] *meṣe 'ti. medhātither ha meṣo bhūtvā rājānam papāu.*

JB. *vṛṣaṇaçvasya mena iti. vṛṣaṇaçvasya ha menā bhūtvā*
ÇaṭB. *vṛṣaṇaçvasya mena iti. vṛṣaṇaçvasya menā bhūtvā*
maghavā kula uvāsa.
maghavā kula uvāsa.

JB. *gāurā 'vaskandinn*[11] *iti. tato hāi 'va gāuro bhūtvā 'rṇavam avacaskanda. ahalyāyāi jāre 'ti. ahalyāyāi ha māitreyyāi jāra āsa. kāuçika brāhmaṇa kāuçika*[12] *bruvāṇe 'ti. yad dha vā asurāir mahāsaṁgrāmaṁ saṁyete*[13] *tad dha vedān nirācakāra. tān ha viçvāmitrād adhijage. tato hāi 'va kāuçika ūce 'tha ha vā eke kāuçika brāhmaṇa gāutama bruvāṇe 'ty āhvayanti.* (80) *tad u ha vā āruṇināi 'va yaçasvino 'pajñātam. tasmād u tasyā "çāṁ ne 'yāt. tasmāt kāuçika brāhmaṇa kāuçika bruvāṇe 'ty evā "hvayet. devā brahmāṇa*[14] *āgacchatā "gacchate 'ti. devāṅç cāi 'va tad brahmāṇaç ca samāmantrayante. te hā 'smāi samāmantritās sumatim icchante tasmād u ha samāmantrya*[15] *[nā] 'parādhnuyān*[16] *ne 'mān*[17] *upavadānī*[18] *'ti.*[19] *tad*

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[1] *A. vāi.* [2] *A. tatā; D. tata.* [3] *A. vābrahma.* [4] *A.* omits. [5] *sya.*
[6] *A.* omits. [7] *D. āhvaṅti.* [8] *A. jālān.* [9] MSS. twice.
[10] MSS. *methātither.* [11] *D. -dann.* [12] *A. gāutama.* [13] *A. -yate.*
[14] *A. brāhmaṇa.* [15] *-yaṁ.* [16] *A. upāradh-; D. āparadh-.*
[17] *A. tinmo; D. menmo.* [18] *'pavad.* [19] *A.* omits *iti.*

āhuḥ kiṁchandas subrahmaṇye 'ti. triṣṭub iti brūyād āindrī hi[1] *triṣṭub iti. tad āhuḥ kiṁdevatyā subrahmaṇye 'ti. āindrī 'ti brūyād indraṁ hy enayā "hvayatī*[2] *'ti. atho ha brūyād vāiçvadevī 'ti viçvān hy enayā devān āhvayatī*[3] *'ti. tad āhur yad anyā hotrā stotravatyaç çastravatyo 'tha kva subrahmaṇyāyāi stotraṁ kva çastram iti. sa brūyād etasyām evāi 'tat sarvaṁ yad ṛk sāma yajus tenā 'sya subrahmaṇyā stotravatī çastravatī bhavatī 'ti. tad āhuḥ kim iva svit subrahmaṇya ṛg iva svīt sāme 'vā uto*[4] *ha*[5] *yajur ivā iti. sa brūyān nāi 'vāi 'ṣa rṅ na yajur na sāma. sarvam ivāi 'va. sarvam iva hy eva brahme 'ti. atha yāṁ krīte rājani subrahmaṇyām āhvayati yām etāṁ dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsū 'tkare tiṣṭhan subrahmaṇyām āhvayati sāi 've 'yam. atho yat prāṇat tad udayanam asad iti. atho āgata eve 'ndras tam mā nirvocāme 'ti.*[6] *eṣā ha vāi dhenuḥ pañcavatsā pañcapādā yad*[7] *vāk.*[7] *idam āhuḥ pāṅktāḥ paçava*[8] *iti. etad dha tat tāṁ ha vā eke yathādevatam āhvayanti sarvāgneyīm agniṣṭuta āindrīm indrastomasya vāiçvadevīṁ vāiçvadevasya aniruktām*[9] *aniruktasya.*[9] *tad u ha çaçvan*[10] *na tathā. no hi brahmaṇo vyāpādo 'sti yathā 'nipatitam evā "hvayed yathā 'nipatitam evā "hvayet.*

I subjoin an English version of JB. ii. 78–80.

Verily the *brahman* and the *subrahman* existed in these worlds, in this creation.[11] From thence the *subrahman* went out. Verily yonder sun is the *brahman*, and speech is the *subrahman*. The gods here enclosed the *brahman* by means of the sacrifice within the *vedi*. So even now the *brahman* here is enclosed by means of the sacrifice within the *vedi*.

Now they say: "Inasmuch as they perform the other priestly (*hotar*-) functions within the *vedi*, how is it that the *subrahmaṇyā*-priest officiates outside of the *vedi*?" He should say: "That is the self of the *vedi*, viz. the *utkara*-mound; that is the manifest *brahman*, viz. the *subrahmaṇyā*. Inasmuch as he calls upon the *subrahmaṇyā*, having taken his stand upon the *utkara*-mound, thereby that which he performs comes to be within the *vedi*."

Thrice he says: "*Subrahmaṇyom, subrahmaṇyom, subrahmaṇyom.*" Verily the *subrahmaṇyā* is speech. Thus he first of all takes hold of this speech; and then the *brahman* is speech, the syllable *o* is sap. He thus gladdens this speech by the sap. Thus some call upon it: "*Om subrahmaṇyā*," saying: "For breath [is] first, then speech." That is not so. It would be as if one

[1] *A.* omits. [2] *D. yantī.* [3] *-antī.* [4] *utā.* [5] *ho.*
[6] *A. gnirvocāma iti.* [7] *A. yadhvā; D. yaddhvā.* [8] *A.* omits.
[9] *anuruk-.* [10] *A. çaṅ; D. vaçaçvaṅ.*
[11] *asmin bhuvane* looks like a gloss to *eṣu lokeṣu.*

should first pour on the honey and then add the parched grain,[1] which would be wrong. Therefore let him call upon it: "*Subrahmaṇyom.*"

"O Indra, come hither!" thus he calls upon Indra at the sacrifice.

"O thou with the fallow steeds, come hither." "Together with the two fallow steeds come hither," he thus addresses him. In-breathing and out-breathing are his two fallow steeds (*harī*), for these two carriers (*hartārāu*) carry (*haratah*) this all. Moreover day and night are his fallow steeds, for these two carriers carry this all.

"O ram of Medhātithi." Having, indeed, become Medhātithi's ram he drank king (soma).

"O wife (?) of Vṛṣaṇaçva." Having, indeed, become the wife (?) of Vṛṣaṇaçva, the Bounteous One dwelt in the family.

"Down-leaping Gāura-bull." Thence, indeed, having become a Gāura-bull he leaped down upon the wave.

"O paramour of Ahalyā." He, indeed, was the paramour of Ahalyā Māitreyī.

"O Brāhman Kāuçika, who callest thyself Kāuçika." Verily when he got into a mighty encounter with the Asuras, at that time he put the Vedas away. He learnt them, indeed, of Viçvāmitra. That is why he called himself Kāuçika.

Now some call on him: "O Brāhman Kāuçika, who callest thyself Gāutama." This, indeed, was invented by Āruṇi Yaçasvin. And let him therefore never think of using it. Let him therefore call upon him: "O Brāhman Kāuçika, who callest thyself Kāuçika."[2]

"Ye gods, ye *brahman*-priests, come hither, come hither!" They thus by this *mantra* call hither both gods and *brahman*-priests. They, verily, called hither by this *mantra*, wish him well. He should therefore not fail in this *mantra*-call, thinking: "May I not blaspheme these."

This they say: "What is the metre of the *subrahmaṇyā?*" He should say: "The *triṣṭubh;* for the *triṣṭubh* is Indra's metre."

This they say: "What is the divinity of the *subrahmaṇyā?*" He should say: "Indra; for upon Indra he calls with it." Moreover he should say: "All the gods; for upon all the gods he calls with it."

This they say: "Inasmuch as the other priestly (*hotar*-) functions are possessed of *stotra* and *çastra*, now, where is the *stotra* and where is *çastra* of the *subrahmaṇyā?*" He should say: "In it is all this, viz. *ṛc*, *sāman*, *yajus*. Through it his *subrahmaṇyā* becomes possessed of *stotra* and *çastra*."

This they say: "Pray, what is the *subrahmaṇyā* like? Pray,

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[1] That is, as if one should put the seasoning into the pot first and afterwards add the thing to be seasoned. Nearly the same comparison occurs at JUB. i. 8. 11. See also Oertel's note thereon, JAOS. xvi. 228. —Ed's.

[2] One of the invocations of the other versions is wanting here.

is it like *ṛc*, or like *sāman*, or like *yajus?*" He should say: "It is not *ṛc*, not *yajus*, not *sāman*. It is like all [of these], for the *brahman* is like all [of these]."

Now, the *subrahmaṇyā* which he calls upon when king (Soma) is bought; that *subrahmaṇyā* which he, standing upon the *utkara*-mound, calls upon when the sacrificial gifts are being led around, just that is it. Again: "When he shall breathe, that shall be the end." Again: "Indra hath come, may we not drive him away with our words." This is the cow with five calves, with five feet, viz. speech. This they say: "Fivefold are cattle."

Now some call upon it by divinities, making it exclusively Agni's on the *agniṣṭut*, Indra's at the *indrastoma*, pertaining to all gods at the *vāiçvadeva*, with no divinity specified at the *anirukta*. That is probably not so. For there is no end of the *brahman*. As upon something indestructible he should call upon it.

In the Proceedings for April, 1895 (Journal, xvi., p. ccxli), I have already suggested that Sāyaṇa drew his explanation of RV. 1. 51. 1 ("Indra in the form of a ram went up unto the Kaṇva-son Medhātithi and drank his soma. The ṛṣi addressed him as 'ram'; hence even now Indra is called 'ram'") from the ÇāṭB. I here add another passage from the JB. (iii. 233) dealing with this legend. It corresponds to TMB. xv. 10. 10–11, but is much more prolix.

The passage from the JB. (iii. 233), in text and version, is as follows:

atha māidhātitham. medhātithigṛhapatayo vāi vibhindukīyās sattram āsata. teṣāṁ dṛḍhacyud āgastir[2] *udgātā "sīd gāurīvitiḥ prastotā 'cyut*[1] *pratihartā vavukṣayo*[2] *hotā sanakanavakāu*[3] *kāpyāv adhvaryū.*[4] *paçukāmo medhātithir janikāmāu sanakanavakāu yatkāmā itare tatkāmāḥ. nānākāmā ha sma vāi purā sattram āsate te ha sma nānāi 'va kāmān ṛddhvā "ptvo 'ttiṣṭhanti. teṣāṁ ha sme 'ndro medhātither meṣasya rūpaṁ kṛtvā somaṁ vratayati. taṁ ha sma bādhate medhātither no meṣas somaṁ vratayatī 'ti. sa u ha smāi 'ṣāṁ svam eva rūpaṁ kṛtvā somaṁ vratayati. tato ha vā idam arvācīnam medhātither meṣa ity āhvayanti. sa etan medhātithiḥ paçukāmas sāmā 'paçyat tenā 'stuta* etc.

Now the *māidhātitha* [*-sāman*]. The Vibhindukīyas, with Medhātithi as their *gṛhapati*, celebrated a *sattra*. Dṛḍhacyut Āgasti acted for them as *udgātar;* Gāurīviti as *prastotar;* Acyut as *pratihartar;* Vavukṣaya as *hotar;* Sanaka and Navaka, descendants of Kapi, as *adhvaryus*. Medhātithi wished for cattle; Sanaka and Navaka wished for a wife; what wishes the

[1] *cyudacyut.* [2] So the MSS. [3] *-kā.* [4] *addhyaryyū.*

rest had, those wishes they had.[1] In old times, indeed, they used to celebrate their *sattra* while having various desires; [and] having succeeding in their desires [and] obtained [them], they used to end their *sattra*. Now Indra, having assumed the form of Medhātithi's ram, used to drink their Soma. So thinking: "Medhātithi's ram is drinking our Soma," they used to drive him away. And he then having assumed his own form used to drink their Soma. Therefore since then they make this invocation: "O ram of Medhātithi." This Medhātithi, wishing for cattle, saw this *sāman;* with it he praised; *etc.*

VI. Taranta, Purumiḍha, and RV. ix. 58.

The ÇāṭB. fragment is preserved by Sāyaṇa in his comment on RV. ix. 58. 3 and in that on SV. ii. 409 (ed. of Bibl. Indica, vol. iv., p. 19). The latter has a few slight variants, which I have noted below. The TMB., at xiii. 7. 12, tells the story as follows:

Verily the two Dhvasrās,[2] the two Puruṣantis, wished to give[3] a thousand to Taranta and Purumīḍha, descendants of Vidadaçva. These two considered: "How may what we have taken become unreceived?" They returned with: "From the two Dhvasrās,[4] from the two Puruṣantis we receive a hundred: hastening he rushes on the gladdening one (SV. ii. 409=RV. ix. 58. 3)." Thereupon what they had taken became unreceived.

I give herewith the text of the JB. version (iii. 139), subjoining the parallel text from the ÇāṭB.

JB. *atha ha vāi tarantapurumīḍhāu vāidadaçvī*[5] *dhvas-*
ÇāṭB. *atha ha vāi tarantapurumīḍhāu vāidadaçvī dhvas-*

rayoḥ puruṣantyor[6] *bahu*[7] *pratigṛhya garagirāv iva menāte.*
rayoḥ puruṣantyor bahu pratigṛhya garagirāv iva menāte.

tāu ha smā 'ṅgulyā sātam prati‖gṛhītam sa yaḥ pratigṛhya‖[8]
tāu ha smā 'ṅgulyā sātam pratimamṛçāte[9]

[a]kāmayetām asātaṁ nāv idaṁ sātaṁ syād āttam[10] *ivāi*[11]
tāv akāmayetām asātaṁ nāv ive'daṁ sātaṁ syād āttam ivāi

'vā 'pratigṛhītam iti. tāv etac caturṛcam apaçyatāṁ tena
'va na pratigṛhītam iti. tāv etac caturṛcam apaçyatāṁ tena[12]

pratyāitām. tato vāi tayor asātaṁ sātam abhavad āttam
pratyāitām. tato[13] *vāi tayor asātaṁ sātam abhavad āttam*

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[1] I. e., the rest had any wishes you please: as if it were shortened from *ye cā 'nye kāmās santi tatkāmā itara āsan.*

[2] The TMB. regards these as females. I cannot see how a neuter (so Ludwig, *ad loc.*) could be explained. See PW., s.v. *dhvasra.*

[3] We must of course read *aditsatām.*

[4] Here *dhvasrayos* must of course be feminine.

[5] *vāitadvaç-*, all MSS. here; and *vāitadaç-* all MSS. except A in the Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa (ed. Burnell, p. 54), and all MSS. at JB. i. 151.

[6] *-yo.* [7] *bahuɸ* (with *upadhmānīya* final).

[8] The words between ‖'s have crept in from below, line 18; but the words fallen out may be restored from the ÇāṭB.

[9] *SV. pratimṛçāte.* [10] *āttat.* [11] *ve.* [12] *SV. tareṇa.* [13] *SV. tayor.*

ivāi 'va na pratigṛhītam. sa yaḥ pratigṛhya kāmayetā 'sātam
ivāi 'va na pratigṛhītam. sa yaḥ pratigṛhya kāmayeta
ma[1] idaṁ sātaṁ syād āttam ivāi 'va na pratigṛhītam iti sa
hāi 'tena caturṛcena pratīyād asātaṁ hāi 'va 'sya sātam bha-
vaty āttam evāi 'va na pratigṛhītam.

The following is a translation of the JB. text (iii. 139):

Now indeed Taranta and Purumīḍha, two descendants of Vidadaçva, having received much of the two Dhvasras, the two Puruṣantis, considered themselves like two persons having swallowed poison. Well, they touched what they had got with the finger. They wished: "Would that we had not got what we have got here, that we had not received, what we have taken as it were." They saw this *ṛc*-quatrain. With it they returned. Thence indeed what they had got became not got, what they had taken as it were [became] not received. If anyone having received (something) should wish: "Would that I had not got what I have got here, that I had not received what I have taken as it were," he should return with this *ṛc*-quatrain. Then, indeed, what he has got becomes not got, what he has taken as it were [becomes] not received.

VII. On the Agnihotra.

The following fragment is from Āpastamba's ÇS., v. 23. 3.[2] The corresponding parallel is found at JB. i. 38. The only difference of importance is JB. *sāvasān* against ÇāṭB. *suyavasān*, which latter the commentator paraphrases: *yathā hi çākaṭiko 'naḍuhaḥ suyavasān subhakṣitaghāsān kṛtvā prājyād vahanāya prerayet tathā 'yaṁ yajamāno 'py agnīn prathamam eva somena paçunā vā sutṛptān kṛtvā havirvahanāya prerayati.* But in view of ÇB. ii. 6. 2. 17 I have not changed the JB. reading.

The first 10 lines of text are from the JB., i. 38; and from the word *juhoti* on, line 11, I subjoin the parallels from the ÇāṭB. as found in Āpastamba's ÇS.

JB. *tad vāi tad agnihotraṁ tryaham eva payasā juhuyāt. tad vā agniṣṭomasya rūpam‖ agniṣṭomenāi 'vā 'sye 'ṣṭam bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti. tad vāi tad agnihotraṁ tryaham eva dadhnā juhuyāt. tad vāi vājapeyasya rūpaṁ‖[3] vājapeyenāi 'vā 'sye 'ṣṭam bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ*

[1] *may:* cf. Oldenberg, *Hymnen des RV.*, p. 452.

[2] The quotations in ĀpÇS. have been collected by Garbe, in *Gurupūjākāumudī* (1896), p. 33 *f.*

[3] The passage between ‖'s is omitted in *A.*

juhoti. tad vāi tad agnihotraṁ tryaham evā "jyena juhuyāt tad vā açvamedhasya rūpam açvamedhenāi 'vā 'sye 'ṣṭam bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti. tad vāi tad agnihotraṁ tryaham evā[1] 'dbhir[2] juhuyāt[3] tad vāi puruṣamedhasya rūpam puruṣamedhenāi 'vā 'sye 'ṣṭam bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān agniho-

JB. *traṁ juhoti. svayam ahatavāsā yajamāno[4]*
ÇāṭB. *trayodaçarātram ahatavāsā yajamānaḥ svayam*

'gnihotraṁ[5] juhuyād ajasreṣv agniṣv apravasan[6] trayodaçīṁ
agnihotraṁ juhuyād apravasann atrāi 'va

rātrīṁ somena[7] vā[8] paçunā ve 'ṣṭvo[9] 'tsṛjeta yathā sāva-
somena paçunā ve 'ṣṭvā 'gnīn utsṛjati yathā suya-

sān kṛtvā prārjayet[10] tādṛk tat.
vasān kṛtvā prājyāt tādṛk tat.

VIII. King Asamāti, the Gāupāyanas, and Kilāta and Ākuli.

The two fragments of the ÇāṭB. are given by Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 57. 1 and 60. 7. A full synopsis of the *var. lect.* of Sāyaṇa's MSS. is given by Müller, *Rigveda*[1], vol. v., p. xix and p. 6; *Rigveda*[2], vol. iv., p. ci and p. 18; also in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1866, p. 426, where all the other parallel passages are brought together and translated. The Bṛhaddevatā legend and other material pertinent to RV. v. 24 is given by Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 368–9. The JB. parallel is found at iii. 167 ff. Unfortunately the text for this last part of the Brāhmaṇa rests on a single incorrect manuscript and breaks down at an important passage which I have not been able to restore.

The ÇāṭB. and JB. begin the story at the point where the Gāupāyanas, having been dismissed by Asamāti, have withdrawn into the Khāṇḍava-forest and plan revenge. They injure the king by their sacrifice; but Kilāta and Ākuli, the two Asuras, whom Asamāti had chosen priests instead of the Gāupāyanas, protect their patron by snatching away the vital spirit of one of the Gāupāyanas, and depositing it inside of the *paridhi*-sticks. The Gāupāyanas leave the Khāṇḍava-forest in quest of the vital spirit of their brother, Subandhu. Here the text breaks down and a considerable portion is obscure. It appears that they approach Asamāti's Agni, who tells them where Subandhu's vital spirit is kept. With the verse RV. x. 60. 7 they restore their brother to life, whereupon the two Asuras vanish, having lost their magic power.

I now give the text of JB. iii. 167, and subjoin the parallels from the ÇāṭB. as given by Sāyaṇa.

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[1] *A. eva.* [2] *A. rj* (i.e., *A.* omits *dbhi*). [3] *A. juhvayāt*
[4] *A. -am.* [5] *A. ag-.* [6] *A. -savan.*
[7] *C. -nā.* [8] *C.* omits. [9] For *ve'ṣṭvo*, *C.* has *gniṣṭo*; *B.*, *ṣṭvevāt.*
[10] *A. prārbharjjetā.*

JB. *asamātiṁ rāthaprāuṣṭhaṁ gāupāyanā*[1] *abhyadāsaṅs*
ÇāṭB. *asamātiṁ rāthaprāuṣṭhaṁ gāupāyanā abhyagamaṅs*[2]

te khāṇḍave sattram āsatā 'tha hā 'samātāu rāthaprāuṣṭhe
te khāṇḍave sattram āsatā 'tha hā 'samātāu rāthaprāuṣṭhe

kirātākulī ūṣatur asuramāyāu. tāu ha smā 'nagnāv[3] *adhidhā-*
kilātākulī ūṣatur asuramāyāu. taṁ[4] *ha smā 'nagnāu nidhā-*

yāu 'danam pacato[5] *'nagnāu māṁsam. vapanto ha sma pur-*
yāu 'danam pacato 'gnāu[6] *māṁsam.*

astād ito yanto ha sma paççād anuyanti tāvan māyāvināu hā

"satus tad vāi tac chaçvad[7] *ikṣvākavo*[8] *'surāçanam jagdhvā*
athā 'surānnaṁ[9] *dagdhve*[10] *'kṣvākavaḥ parāba-*

parābhūtāḥ. tam asamātiṁ rāthaprāuṣṭhaṁ gāupāyanānām
bhūvuḥ tam asamātiṁ rāthaprāuṣṭhaṁ gāupāyanānām

āhutayo 'bhyatapan. so 'bravīd imāu kirātākulī imā vāi mā
āhutayo 'bhyatapan. so 'bravīd imāu kilātākulī imā vāi mā

gāupāyanānām āhutayo 'bhitapantī 'ti tāv abrūtāṁ tasya vā
gāupāyanānām āhutayo 'bhitapantī 'ti tāv abrūtāṁ tasya vā

āvam eva bhiṣajāu sva āvam prāyaçcittir āvaṁ tathā kari-
āvām[11] *eva bhiṣajāu sva āvām prāyaçcittir āvāṁ tathā kari-*

ṣyāvo yathā tvāi 'tā nā 'bhitapsyantī 'ti tāu paretya suban-
ṣyāvo yathā nv[12] *etā nā 'bhitapantī 'ti tāu paretya suban-*

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[1] *gop-*.

[2] Müller's conjecture *abhyagamaṅs* must be abandoned and the JB. reading adopted. To this latter points also the *var. lect.* of the MSS. of Sāyaṇa, viz. *abhyagāsaṅs* B_4 and Ca, *abhyañgāsaṅs* B_1. B_2, B_3, BM, CB, and *abhyagāmaṅs* AD. In these, the different stages of development from *abhyadāsaṅs* to *abhyagamaṅs* (A has *abhyāgamaṅs*) can be clearly traced. The meaning also is against *abhyagamaṅs*, for at this stage of the story Asamāti has just sent the Gāupāyana brothers away (*tyaktvā*, Kātyāyana; *vyudasya*, Bṛhaddevatā).

[3] *nānāv.*

[4] Sāyaṇa's MSS. all support the reading *tam*; but the *tāu* of the JB. is better.

[5] *pavato*; of Sāyaṇa's MSS., A, AD, C_2 and C_4 also show this reading.

[6] *'gnāu* of Sāyaṇa must be emended to *'nagnāu* of the JB. By their magic they cooked porridge *and* meat without fire.

[7] *tach chatvad.*

[8] *īkṣvā-*.

[9] The reading *asurānnam*, now adopted by Müller on the authority of Ca *asurātram* (A, AD, C_2, C_4, B_1, B_2, B_3, BM, CB, also point to this, reading *asurārānnaṁ*), agrees better with *asurāçanam* of JB. than his former reading *asurā annaṁ* (after B_4).

[10] The crucial point, viz. the initial *d* in *dagdhvā*, is given by all MSS. of Sāyaṇa. But the JB. reading gives the preferable sense, for it is quite natural that the *eating* (though not the *burning*) of the demon-food should cause the people to perish. Compare the similar story at ÇB. ii. 4. 3. 2.

[11] *Āvām* should be read in Sāyaṇa in all three instances. All MSS. have uniformly short *a* in all three instances, except Ca, which has long *ā* in the first. Cf. also Müller's note, *Rigveda*[2], vol. iv., p. cv.

[12] *Nv etā* in Sāyaṇa is based on B_1, B_2, B_3, B_4, BM, and CB. On the other hand, *nvāitā* in A, AD, C_2, C_4 and *tyāitā* in Ca point toward the JB. reading *tvāi 'tā*, which the Bombay edition of Sāyaṇa adopts.

dhor[1] *gāupāyanasya svapataḥ pramattasyā 'sum āhṛtyā*[2] *'ntaḥ-*
dhor gāupāyanasya svapataḥ pramattasyā 'sum āhutyā[3] *'ntaḥ-*
paridhi nyadhattām. paridhimanto ha tarhy agnaya[4] *āsuḥ.*[5]
paridhi nyadhattām.

tat subandhāv aprabuddhe 'nvabudhyantā 'hārṣṭāṁ vā asyā

'sum asuramāyāv iti te 'bruvann eta subandhor asum anvag[6]

ayāme[7] *'ti. te khāṇḍavāt prāyan mā pra gāma patho vayam*

mā yajñād indra somino mā 'ntas sthur no arātayo yac ce

'dam ime[8] *yac ca sattram āsmahe tasmād u ha vayam*[9] *mā*

pragāme 'ti te ‖ subandhu nāvatantum atā subandhutīrthenāi

'va hṛṇinīm prāñchantirtv ‖[10] *āgacchann asamātiṁ*[11] *rātha-*

prāuṣṭham. (167.) *tasya ha parākhyāyāi 'vā 'gnim*[12] *ajānan*[13]

varūthyo vāi nāmā 'syā 'gnir ity atha ha tataḥ purā 'gnir

[varūthyo] nāma proce[14] *varūthyo vāi nāmā 'sti*[15] *sa yas tvāi*

'tad abhirādhayād yad eva tvā kiṁ ca sa bravat tat kurutād

iti. tam upāyann agne tvaṁ no antama uta trātā çivo bhuvo
athā 'gniṁ dvāipadena sūktenā 'stuvann agniḥ stuta
varūthya iti tān abravīt kiṁkāmā āgāte 'ti. subandhor
ājagāma. āgatya cā "ha kiṁkāmā mā "gacchate 'ti. subandhor
evā 'sum punar vanuma ity[16] *abruvann eṣo 'ntaḥparidhī 'ty*
evā 'sum punar vanuyāme 'ty[17] *abruvann eṣā*[18] *'ntaḥparidhī 'ty*
abravīt tam ādaddhvam iti. taṁ nirāhvayann ayam mātā
abravīt tam ādaddhvam iti. tan nirāha[19] *ayam mātā*

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[1] *sṛb-*. [2] *āsṛt-*
[3] MSS., *āhutya:* Müller's conjecture, *āhṛtya* (l. c., p. cvi, end), is borne out by the JB. here and by *āhārṣṭām* below. [4] *agnayatt.*
[5] *asus.* [6] *anvat.* [7] *ayāve.* [8] *imo.* [9] *yasmān.*
[10] The passage within ‖'s is very badly corrupt. [11] *asāmātiṁ.*
[12] *gni.* [13] *jānan.* [14] *prope.* [15] *smi.* [16] *vanume 'ti.*
[17] *Vanuyāme 'ty:* Ca, A, CB, C_2, B_4, B_1, and M read *vanume 'ti*, as does the JB.
[18] *Eṣā* is supported by Ca and B_4 (the other MSS. have here a *lacuna*); but this reading must be abandoned because there is nothing for the feminine form to agree with. The Bombay edition reads *eṣo*, as does the JB.
[19] *Nirāhvayann* of the JB. is a better solution of the misreadings of Sāyaṇa's MSS. here than the *nirāharann* of the Bombay edition.

'yam pitā 'yaṁ jīvātur āgamad idaṁ[1] *tava prasarpaṇam*[2] *'yam pite 'ti subandhav ehi nir ihī 'ti taṁ*[3] *subandhum asuḥ punaḥ prāviçat. sa yathāpuram abhavat. tad ābhyāṁ kirātākuḷibhyām ācakṣate 'me vā ṛṣayo sumṁ nirāhvayann iti tāv adhārayamāṇāu nirādravatāṁ*[4] *tayor imān eva parākhyāya sarvamāyā*[5] *apākrāmaṁs tayor ha yat pāpiṣṭhatamaṁ rūpāṇāṁ tad rūpam āsa.* (170) *atha ha tataḥ purā māyayā 'darçanīyāv āsatuḥ. tayor anyataro gnīn praplavamāno*[6] *'bravīd itthaṁ vāi sa karoti yas satyam anṛtena jighāṁsati 'ti. athe 'ttham gā nyakṛntan.*[7] *tad anyatara*[8] *upaparetya*[9] *grīvāḥ*[10] *kṛntamāno*[11] *'bravīd itthaṁ u vāṁ vāi*[12] *sa karoti yas satyam anṛtena jighāṁsatī 'ti. tad evā 'mriyetāṁ.*[13] *tā etā bhrātṛvyaghnyo rakṣoghnya*[14] *ṛcaḥ. hanti dviṣantam bhrātṛvyam apa rakṣaḥ pāpmānaṁ hata etābhir ṛgbhis tuṣṭuvānaḥ.*

The translation of the JB. passage (iii. 167) follows:

The Gāupāyanas plotted against Asamāti Rāthaprāuṣṭha. They performed a *sattra* in the Khāṇḍava (-forest). Now with Asamāti Rāthaprāuṣṭha dwelt Kirāta and Ākuli, two Asura-illusions. These two used to cook porridge placing it over non-fire, [and] meat over non-fire. [Text obscure] . . . of such magic power were they. Then verily straightway the Ikṣvākus having eaten the Asura-food were undone.

The oblations of the Gāupāyanas burnt Asamāti Rāthaprāuṣṭha. He said to these two, viz. Kirāta and Ākuli: "Verily these oblations of the Gāupāyanas burn me." The two said: "Verily we are the healers of this, we are the expiation. We will so manage that these (oblations) shall not burn thee." The two, going away, snatched the vital spirit of Subandhu, the Gāupāyana, as he was asleep [and] unconscious, and deposited it inside of the *paridhi*(-sticks). For the fires had then *paridhi* (-sticks). Then, when Subandhu did not wake up, they became aware: "The two Asura-illusions have snatched his vital spirit." They said: "Come, we will proceed after Subandhu's vital spirit." They went forth from the Khāṇḍava(-forest): "May we not go forth from the path, not, O Indra, from the

[1] *iuṁ.* [2] *ṇā.* [3] *tā.* [4] *nirādadra-.*
[5] *-ya.* [6] Should we read *praplāvayamāno*?—Ed's.
[7] *-krant-.* [8] *anyata.* [9] *rūpapar-.* [10] *-ā.* [11] *akṛtam.*
[12] *ava.* [13] *mriyete.* [14] *-ghna.*

sacrifice of the soma-presser; may not foes stand in our way (RV. x. 57. 1); and what these here, what *suttra* we perform, from that may we not go forth (?)" [Text corrupt] . . . came unto Asamāti Rāthaprāuṣṭha. (167.) Having perceived his Agni in the distance, they knew (?) : "Verily Varūthya by name is his Agni." Indeed aforetime Agni was proclaimed as Varūthya by name : "He is Varūthya by name, he who may (will) thus satisfy thee; whatever he may say, that thou shalt do." They went to him saying : "Agni be thou nearest to us, a kindly helper, Varūthya" (SV. i. 448=RV. v. 24. 1 var.). He said to them : "With what wish have ye come?" "We desire back the vital spirit of Subandhu," they said. "It is inside of the *paridhi*(-sticks)," he said, "take it." They called it out : "This one as mother, this one as father, this one as life hath come; this is thy coming-forth, o Subandhu, come, come out" (RV. x. 60. 7). The vital spirit again entered Subandhu. He became as before. They told this to these two, Kirāta and Ākuli : "These ṛṣis have called out the vital spirit." These two, not being prepared [for this], ran away. Seeing these in the distance, all their illusions departed from the two. What the worst form is, that form was theirs. (170) Now heretofore, through their magic, they had been invisible. One of them, extinguishing the fires with water, said : "Verily so doth he who desireth to smite truth by falsehood." Likewise also they cut up the cows. Then the other one approaching, cutting the necks said : "And verily so doth he of you who desireth to smite truth by falsehood." Then the two died. Rival-smiting, *rakṣas*-smiting, are these *ṛc*-verses. One who has praised with these *ṛc*-verses smites his hating rival, he smites away the *rakṣas*, evil.

IX. Derivation of the term abhīvarta.

The Commentary on TMB. iv. 3. 2 has preserved the few words from the ÇaṭB. The JB. parallel is at ii. 378. I add TMB. iv. 3. 1–2 for the sake of comparison. TMB. viii. 2. 7, which deals with the same subject, differs somewhat.

JB. *abhīvarto brahmasāma bhavatī 'ti. abhīvartena vāi*
TMB. *abhīvarto brahmasāma bhavati. abhīvartena vāi*
ÇāṭB.

devā imāṅ lokān abhy avartanta. tad
devāḥ svargaṁ lokam abhy avartanta.
yad abhyavartanta tad

abhīvartasyā 'bhīvartatvam. tad yad abhīvarto brahmasāma
yad abhīvarto brahmasāma
abhīvartasyā 'bhīvartatvam.

bhavaty eṣām eva lokānām abhivṛtyāi.
bhavati svargasya lokasyā 'bhivṛtyāi.

X. On the acchāvāka, etc.

The passage from the ÇāṭB. is given in the comment. on TMB. iv. 2. 10. The corresponding passage[1] of the JB. is at ii. 376.

JB. *tad āhur īrma*[2] *iva vā eṣā hotrāṇāṁ yad acchāvāko*
ÇāṭB. *īrma iva vā eṣā hotrāṇāṁ yad acchāvāko*
TMB. *tad āhur īrma iva vā eṣā hotrā yad acchāvākyā*

yad acchāvākam anusaṁtiṣṭhete[3] *"rma iva tuṣṭuvānās syur*
yad acchāvākam anusaṁtiṣṭhete "rma iva tuṣṭuvānāḥ syur
yad acchāvākam anusaṁtiṣṭhata īçvare "rmā bhavitor

iti. tasya trāikakubham brahmasāma bhavaty
iti. tasya trāikakubham brahmasāma bhavaty
iti. yady uktham syāt trāikakubhaṁ

udvaṅçīyam acchāvākasāma. indriyaṁ vāi vīryaṁ trāika-
udvaṅçīyam acchāvākasāma.
co'dvaṅçīyaṁ cā 'ntataḥ pratiṣṭhāpye vīryaṁ vā ete
kubhaṁ sarvam pṛṣṭharūpam udvaṅçīyam[4] *indriye cāi 'va*
sāmanī.
tadvīrye sarvasmiṅç ca pṛṣṭharūpe 'ntataḥ pratitiṣṭhanti.
vīrya evā 'ntataḥ pratitiṣṭhanti.

XI. Minor Correspondences.

Several passages exhibiting similarities only:

XI. 1. Çaṁkara, on Vedānta Sūtras, iii. 3. 26, 27, ascribes to the Çāṭyāyanins the passage *tasya putrā dāyam upayanti suhṛdaḥ sādhukṛtyāṁ dviṣantaḥ pāpakṛtyām.*[5] Cf. JB. i. 50, *tasya putrā dāyam upayanti pitaras sādhukṛtyāṁ dviṣantaḥ pāpakṛtyām.* So i. 18, omitting last two words.

I may note here that I have found no passage in the JB. similar to the quotation, *āudumbarāḥ kuçāḥ*, ascribed to the Çāṭyāyanins by Çaṁkara, com. on Ved. Sūt. iii. 3. 26, near middle.

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[1] I may note here that JB. ii. 375 ff. deals with the subject matter of TMB. iv. 2. As usual, the former is more prolix, but often the two are very similar in their phraseology; cf. the beginning:

JB. *prāyaṇīyam ahar bhavati. prāyaṇīyena vā ahnā devās*
TMB. 1. *prāyaṇīyam ahar bhavati.* 2. *prāyaṇīyena vā ahnā devāḥ*

svargaṁ lokam prāyan. yat prāyaṅs tat prāyaṇīyasya prāyaṇīya-
svargaṁ lokam prāyan. yat prāyaṅs tat prāyaṇīyasya prāyaṇīya-
tvam. tad yat prāyaṇīyam ahar bhavati svargasyāi 'va lokasya
tvam.
samaṣṭyāi. tasmād u hāi 'tasyā 'hna ṛtvijā bhūṣitavyam svar-
3. *tasmāt prāyaṇīyasyā 'hna ṛtvijā bhavitavyam etad*
gasya hy etal lokasya nediṣṭham
dhi svargasya lokasya nediṣṭham. ya etasya ṛtviñ na bhavati hīyate
svargāl lokāt.

[2] *ut* or *it.* [3] *-ta.* [4] *udvīçīyad.*

[5] This same passage, without reference to the Çāṭyāyanins, is given by him again at iv. 1. 16 and 17.

XI. 2. The Vasiṣṭha-legend,[1] which, according to Sāyaṇa's introduction to RV. vii. 32, was contained in the Çāṭyāyanaka, is alluded to in the JB. several times in passages of a character similar to TMB. iv. 7. 3; viii. 2. 3; xix. 3. 8. As a sample, I give the passage at JB. i. 150 (it recurs, with variations of the *sāman*-names, etc., at iii. 26, 83, 149, 204):

vasiṣṭhasya janitre prajananakāmaḥ kurvīta. vasiṣṭho vāi jīto hataputro 'kāmayata bahuḥ prajayā paçubhiḥ prajāyeye 'ti. sa ete sāmanī apaçyat. tābhyām astuta. tato vāi sa bahuḥ prajayā paçubhiḥ prājāyata. te ete prajananī sāmanī. bahuḥ prajayā paçubhiḥ prajāyate ya evaṁ veda. taj janitram iti rathantarasāmno janitram iti bṛhatsāmno yad u vasiṣṭho 'paçyat tasmād vasiṣṭhasya janitre ity ākhyāyete.

The Vasiṣṭha-legend, as told by the JB. at ii. 390, is, in text and translation, as follows:

çaktiṁ ha vāsiṣṭhaṁ sāudāsā agnāu prāsuḥ. sa ha prāsyamāna[2] uvāce[3] 'ndra kratuṁ na ā bhara pitā putrebhyo yathe 'ti. etāvad[4] dhāi 'vā 'sya vyāhṛtam āsa. atha hāi 'nam agnāu prāsuḥ. atha ha vasiṣṭha ājagāma. sa ho 'vāca kim me putraḥ prāsyamāno 'bravīd iti. tasmāi ho "cur indra kratuṁ na ā bhara pitā putrebhyo yathe 'ty etāvad evā 'sya vyāhṛtam āsīd athāi 'nam agnāu prāsyann iti. sa ho 'vāca çikṣā ṇo asmin puruhūta[5] yāmani jīvā jyotir açīmahī 'ti yan ma etam uttaram ardharcam putraḥ prāpsyan na cāi 'vāi 'nam agnāu prāsiṣyan sarvam u cā "yur ayiṣyat. yāi 'va kurutamā devatānām abhūt tām apāsarat. ṛdhnavan[6] te sattriṇo ye ma etena putrasya pragāthena[7] stavāntā iti. sa eṣa ṛddhiprāṇ[8] ubhitaḥ pragātha ṛddhiṣṇavo ha bhavanty enena tuṣṭuvānāḥ.

The Sāudāsas [were about to] cast Çakti, the son of Vasiṣṭha, into the fire. As he was being cast, he said: "O Indra bring us strength, as a father to his children" (SV. i. 259=RV. vii. 32.26[a-b]) — that much only he uttered; then they cast him into the fire. Now Vasiṣṭha came. He said: "What did my son say when he was being cast into the fire?" They told him: "'O Indra bring us strength, as a father to his children,'—only so much had he uttered, when they cast him into the fire."

He (V.) said: "If my son had got to this second half-stanza, 'Help us, O oft-called one, in this course; may we, alive, obtain the light' (*ibid.*[c, d]), truly, they would not have cast him into the fire and he would have reached old age. Who is the most Kuru-

[1] Cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* ii., p. 159. [2] *-no.* [3] *'vāce.*
[4] *etaṁvad.* [5] *-tā.* [6] *-vā.* [7] *pratāthena.* [8] *-āg.*

like[1] divinity, unto that he ran away. May those *sattra*-celebrants prosper who praise with this, my son's, *pragātha* (stanza)." This same *pragātha* faces prosperity on both sides; steeped in prosperity become those who have praised with it.

XI. 3. In his comment on RV. viii. 95. 7, Sāyaṇa quotes as follows[2] from the ÇāṭB.: *indro vā asurān*[3] *hatvā 'pūta ivā 'medhyo 'manyata. so 'kāmayata çuddham eva mā santaṁ çuddhena sāmnā stuyur iti. sa ṛṣīn abravīt stuta me 'ti. tata ṛṣayaḥ sāmā 'paçyan. tenā 'stuvann eto nv indram* (SV. i. 350=RV. viii. 95. 7) *iti. tato vā indraḥ pūtaḥ çuddho medhyo 'bhavat.*

Compare with this the following JB. passages: i. 121: *devā vā asurān hatvā 'pūtā ivā 'medhyā amanyanta. te 'kāmayanta pūtā medhyāç çuddhās syāma gacchema svargaṁ lokam iti. ta etā ṛco 'paçyaṅs tābhir apunata. punānas soma dhārayā 'po vasāno arṣasī* (SV. 1. 511=RV. ix. 107.4[a, b]) *'ti. āpo vāi pavitram adbhir evā 'punata. ā ratnadhā yonim ṛtasya sīdasī* (ibid.[c]) *'ti. antarikṣaṁ vā ṛtam. antarikṣam evāi 'tenā 'tyāyan. utso deva hiraṇyaya* (ibid.[d]) *iti. asāu vāi loka utso devo 'mum evāi 'tena lokam upāsīdan. tato vāi te pūtā medhyāç çuddhā abhavann agacchan svargaṁ lokam. pūto medhyaç çuddho bhavati gacchati svargaṁ lokam etābhir ṛgbhis tuṣṭuvānaḥ.*

JB. i. 227: *atha sāumedham. devā vā asurān hatvā 'pūtā ivā 'medhyā amanyanta. te 'kāmayanta pūtā medhyās syāme 'ti. ta etat sāmā 'paçyaṅs tenā 'stuvata. tato vāi te pūtā medhyā abhavan. te 'bruvan sumedhyā vā abhūme 'ti. tad eva sāumedhasya sāumedhatvam. pūto medhyo bhavati ya evaṁ veda.*

And at iii. 126 the same formula occurs with the changes necessary for the explanation of *sāuhaviṣam* (*sāma*).

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[1] *Kurutamā:* I do not understand this phrase. Can it mean 'most efficient'? Cf. Çaṁkara on Chānd. Up. iv. 17. 9 (quoted in PW.) and Boehtlingk's note in his edition of the Chānd. Up., p. 102.

[2] The passage recurs in the commentary to the SV., ed. Bibl. Ind., vol. i., p. 716.

[3] Müller reads *vāsurān.*

The Malayan Words in English.—By CHARLES PAYSON GURLEY SCOTT. Part II.*

Gong, a well-known instrument of sound. It is commonly regarded as Chinese; but the name and thing ar of Malayan origin.

The European forms ar, English *gong*, formerly also *ghong* (1698), sometimes in the Spanish form *gongo* (1613), French *gong*, Spanish *gongo*, Dutch *gong*, *gonggong*, German *gong*, *gonggong*, *gonggon*, Swedish *gong*, *gonggong*, Danish *gongon*. The reduplicated forms ar explaind in a later paragraph.

In Malayan there ar two forms, which I shall set forth separately, gong and agong.

(1) Malay گوڠ gōng, gong, gūng, or, with the vowel unindicated, ڠ gong, gung; in Achinese *gung*, Javanese *gong*, Sundanese *go-ong*, Balinese *gong*, Macassar *gong*, Bareë (central Celebes) *gongi*, Tara, Moma, Bara *gongi*, a gong; Dayak *geng*, *gong*, the sound of the gong (itself cald *garantong*).

گوڠ gōng a sonorous instrument. (Vid. اگوڠ agōng.)
1812 MARSDEN, p. 291.

گوڠ gong, een fchel, fpeeltuig, metalen bekken.
1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 345.

Gong (J). A gong. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 51.

گوڠ goeng. V. اگوڠ ĕgoeng. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 200.

ڠ gùng, nom d'un instrument de musique fait d'une plaque de métal, un gong .... On trouve aussi اڠ egùng et گوڠ gūng. Jav. .... *gong* et ... *egong*. Sund. .... *goong*. Bat. .... *ogung*. Mak. ... *gong*. Day. *geng*. Tag. et Bis. .... *agong*. 1875 FAVRE, 1:423.

Gong گوڠ a gong. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:33.

Gong, bekken, o. (metalen muziekinstrument).
1884 BADINGS, p. 266.

ڠ gong (vgl. اڠ, T.), groot koperen bekken met opstaande eenigszins naar binnen hellende randen en eene verhevenheid in 't midden, waarop met een' elastieken kluppel geslagen wordt. Het geeft een' vollen en zwaren toon en dient tot muziekinstrument en tot het geven van seinen: g. tjāboel, de oorlogs-gong.
1884 WALL and TUUK, 3:17.

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* For Part I., see Vol. xvii., pp. 93–144.

گنگ gong, e. s. v. groot metalen bekken of ketel, behoorende tot de inlandsche muziek-instrumenten ; gong raja, de groote gong ; g. tjaboel, de oorlogsgong. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 579.

Gong, groot koperen bekken met een knop in het midden behoorende tot de inlandsche muziekinstrumenten. 1895 MAYER, p. 108.

Gŏng, A. metalen bekkens die hangende met eenen elastieken klopper of hamer bespeeld wordende, eenen welluidenden en roerenden toon geven. 1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Javaansch en Nederduitsch woordenboek*, p. 116.

. . . [*gong*] ou . . . [*hĕgong*] N. K. nom d'un instrument de musique . . . [*ngĕgongngi*], frapper sur un gong pour le faire résonner. 1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 485.

Go-ong, a Gong, a circular musical instrument made of brass and beaten with a soft mallet. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 133.

Hĕgong en *gong* naam van een muzijkinstrument. 1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 28.

. . . *gong*, naam van een muzijk-instrument, een groot koperen bekken, dat loshangend met een' elastieken hamer geslagen wordt. Mal. en Jav. idem. 1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch wrdnbk.*, p. 68.

Gongi (T. [Tara] K. [Moma] N. [Bara] *gongi*), groot koperen bekken, gebruikt op de prauwen om daarop te slaan bij aankomst en vertrek. Een kleiner soort heet *kakula*. Het woord is 't Mal. gong. 1894 KRUYT, *Woordenlijst van de Bareë-taal gesproken door de Alfoeren van Centraal Celebes*, p. 24.

(2) Malay اگوڠ agōng, agong, agūng (or ĕgōng, ĕgong, ĕgūng), otherwise اڬڠ agong, agung (or ĕgong, ĕgung) ; in Batak *ogung*, Javanese *hĕgong* (pronounced and often transliterated *ĕgong*), Balinese *hĕgong*, Tagal and Bisaya *agong*.

Between the two forms gong and agong there is no distinction in meaning or use ; but gong is the more common form. Even when اگوڠ agong is written, gong is often pronounced ; as in English all write *about* and many say *bout*.

Parallel to gong and agong ar the Malay jong and ajong, the origin of the English *junk*. See JUNK.

اگوڠ agōng or gōng the gong, a sonorous instrument of metal, struck with a sort of hammer, and used both as a bell and an instrument of music. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 12.

اڬڠ âgong of gong een luidruchtig metalen ſpeeltuig dat met eene foort van hamer geſlagen wordt. 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 16.

اگوڠ ĕgoeng, de gong, een bekend muziek-instrument. (Jav. *ĕgong*, Bat. *ogoeng*.) 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 9.

اڬڠ egùng = گڠ gùng. 1875 FAVRE, 1:51.

اڠ ĕgong = gong, het bekende muziek-instrument.

1893 KLINKERT, p. 30.

Agông, CH., اڠوڠ. A gong, a metal instrument, played by means of a drum-stick. (See Gong, گوڠ, which is the more common form.)

1894 CLIFFORD and SWETTENHAM, 1:21.

. . . [*hĕgong*] v. . . . [*gong*].

1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 59.

Hĕgong en *gong* naam van een muzijkinstrument.

1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 28.

The name gong, agong is considerd to be imitativ or suggestiv of the sound which the instrument produces. The Sunda form *go-ong* shows imitativ vocal play. In Dayak *gong*, *geng*, is applied to the sound of the gong, which is itself cald *garantong*. The word is also an adjectiv, meaning 'sonorous.' (1859 Hardeland, p. 131, 132.) So the Malagasi *gonga*, answering to the Malay word, is applied to the clang of two sonorous things struck together.

Le mot malgaçhe *gonga* exprime généralement le son, le bruit produit par le choc de deux objets sonores l'un contre l'autre.

1896 MARRE, *Vocabulaire des principales racines malaises et javanaises de la langue malgache*, p. 28.

The imitativ intent appears clearly in the numerous words in Malayan and other languages which contain the syllable *gong* or *ging* reduplicated, and sometimes varied.

Haex, a name which is venerable in the annals of Malayan lexicography, givs a Malay word gonggong, speld by him gongong, meaning the barking of dogs. So Sundanese *gonggong* beside *gogog*, to bark like a dog (1862 Rigg, p. 133, 132).

Djalac, vel gongong. Latratus canum. 1631 HAEX, p. 15.
Gongong, vel dialac. Latratus canum. 1631 *Id.*, p. 19.

There is a Malay word گڠگوڠ ginggōng, گڠگڠ ginggong, Achinese *gĕnggong*, Javanese *ganggong*, Balinese *gènggong*, Macassar *genggong*, a mouth-harp, jew's-harp. In Lampong *ginggung* is a kind of wooden gong made of bamboo.

گڠگوڠ ginggōng, the jew's-harp; a rattle for children.

1812 MARSDEN, p. 286.

گڠگڠ ginggong, nom d'une sorte de trompe ou de guimbarde. Selon Kl[inkert] un petit instrument en bambou, que l'on tient entre les dents, et qui produit les sons *ging-gong*. Jav. . . . *ganggong*, nom d'une sorte de flûte (jouet des enfants). Mak. . . . *génggong*, nom d'une flûte. 1875 FAVRE, 1:424.

Ginggong, Sampitsche *garieding*, Katingansch *pahoentong*, mondtrompettje. 1872 TIEDTKE, *Woordenlijst*, p. 71.

ڭيڤڭوڠ gĕnggong, een mondharmonica.

1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 233.

Gènggong, moeltromp, mondharp, die met de vingers bespeeld wordt.

1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 190.

Ginggoeng, bamboezen instrumentje; dat men tusschen de standen steekt en waarmede men de geluiden *ginggoeng* voortbringt.

1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 18.

Bowdich (1819) mentions an African instrument of music called a *gong-gong*. It is probably the same as what is elsewhere renderd *gom-gom:* namely a kind of "horse-fiddle," described in the quotations following. See also *gum-gum*, in Yule, p. 308.

The *gong-gongs* and drums were beat all around us.

1819 BOWDICH, *Mission to Ashantee*, 1:7:136. (S. D.

One of the Hottentot Instruments of Musick is common to several Negro Nations, and is call'd, both by Negroes and Hottentots, *Gom Gom*....is a Bow of Iron, or Olive Wood, strung with twisted Sheep-Gut or Sinews.

1731 MEDLEY, tr. Kolben's *Cape Good Hope*. 1:271. (S. D.)

....Ordered his *Gom-gom* to be brought in. This instrument was a wooden bow, the ends of which were confined by a dried and hollow gut, into which the captain blew, scraping upon it at the same time with an old fiddle-stick. 1776 J. COLLIER, *Mus. Trav.*, p. 49. (S. D.)

It is probably from a vague association of *gong* with these reduplicated forms in various outlandish languages, that we ar to explain the reduplicated form of *gong* in Dutch *gonggong*, German *gonggong*, *gonggon*, Swedish *gonggong*, Danish *gongon*.

The alloy of copper of which gongs ar made is cald in Malay *gangsa*, Javanese *gongsa*, Sundanese *gangsa*, Balinese *gangså*. In Bali the instrument itself is cald by the same name. In Malay and Lampong *gangsa* means also a large copper dish. This word is Indian; but it may be imitativ.

. . . [*gongsa*], N. K. une sorte de métal de cloche.

1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 486.

Gangsa, the metal of which Gongs or Go-ongs are made, and of which copper is the chief ingredient. Bronze. Also filings of such metal which is given to people as a slow poison, said to take effect upon the throat and causes at least loss of voice. The husky cough caused by this poison. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 121.

Gangså het metaal, waarvan de gamellan instrumenten gemaakt worden, een soort van klokkemetaal; ook ben. van een muziekinstrument, dat in de hand gedragen en zoo bespeeld wordt.

1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 190.

Gangsa, groot presenteerblad van geel koper.

1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 15.

The word *gong* is often said to be Chinese. Clifford and Swettenham so mark it; but no one seems to be able to point out the Chinese original. Schlegel does not mention the word in his list of "Chinese loan-words in Malay" (1890). Williams (1856 and 1874) has no Chinese word like it. There are no words in the "Mandarin" and Canton dialects having initial *g*. The ordinary Chinese word for 'gong' is *lo* (1874 Williams, p. 551). In the Chinese of Ning-po the word for 'gong' is *dong-lo'* (1876 Morrison, p. 202). Here *dong* may be imitativ, like gong.

In the first English quotation, the word is *gongo*.

In the morning before day the Generall did strike his *Gongo*, which is an Instrument of War that soundeth like a Bell. [This was in Africa, near Benguela.]

c. 1590 *Advent. of Andrew Battel*, in Purchas, 2:970. (Y. p. 295.)

In the Sultan's Mosque [at Mindanao] there is a great Drum with but one Head, called a *Gong;* which is instead of a Clock. This *Gong* is beaten at 12 a Clock, at 3, 6, and 9. 1686 DAMPIER, i. 333. (Y.)

They have no Watches nor Hour-Glasses, but measure Time by the dropping of Water out of a Brass Bason, which holds a *Ghong*, or less than half an Hour; when they strike once distinctly, to tell them it's the First *Ghong*, which is renewed at the Second *Ghong* for Two, and so Three at the End of it till they come to Eight.

1698 FRYER, *New account of East India and Persia* (1672–1681). (Y.)

Southey thought the gong sounded, as he wrote, like thunder:

> The heavy *Gong* is heard,
> That falls like thunder on the dizzy ear.
>
> 1800 SOUTHEY, *Thalaba*, 9:190.
>
> And the *gong*, that seems, with its thunders dread,
> To stun the living, and waken the dead.
>
> 1810 SOUTHEY, *Curse of Kehama*, 148.

Gong enters the English dictionaries first in 1818, in Todd's edition of Johnson. Crawfurd describes the gong as he saw it in its own home. Wallace mentions a wooden gong.

Next to the drum may be mentioned the well known instruments called *Gongs*. The word, which is correctly written gung, is common to all the dialects of the Archipelago, and its source may be considered to be the vernacular language of Java; if, indeed, it was not originally borrowed from the Chinese. The *gong* is a composition of copper, zinc, and tin, in proportions which have not been determined. Some of them are of enormous size, being occasionally from three to four feet in diameter. They have a nob in the centre, which is struck with a mallet covered at top with cloth or elastic gum. They are usually suspended from a rich frame, and the tone which they produce is the deepest and richest that can be imagined.

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 1:335–6.

At each mile there are little guard-houses, where a policeman is stationed; and there is a wooden *gong*, which by means of concerted signals may be made to convey information over the country with great rapidity. 1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 76.

It is a pleasing reflection to a lover of progress to see how this humble savage instrument of noise has been added to the appliances of modern culture, and how the name unchanged, and the thing variously adapted, hav become, in hotels and railway-stations, on fire-engines, ambulances, trolley-cars and bicycles, familiar to the ears of millions who hear the increasing noises of advancing civilization, and ar glad.

Gutta, a gum or resin, especially gutta-percha. Also *guttah*, French *gutte*, New Latin *gutta*, probably assimilated to Latin *gutta*, a drop. The more exact English and New Latin form would be **getta* or **gatta*. The Malay word is كتة gĕtah, gatah (transliterated by Marsden, secondly, guttah; by Wall, gĕttah), gum, resin, sap, juice. It is in Achinese *getah*, Batak *gota*, Nias *gito*, Javanese *getah*, Sundanese *getah*, Balinese *getah*, Dayak *gita*, Sampit (Borneo) *getah*, Katingan (Borneo) *gita*, Macassar *gâtta*, Bugis *göta*, Tagal and Bisaya *gata*.

كتة gatah or guttah gum, balsam. Gatah kāyū gummy, glutinous, or milky exudations from trees; bird-lime. Gatah gambīr the inspissated juice of the leaves of the gambīr plant, or dāūn gatah gambīr. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 283.

Gâtah. The sap of plants whether fluid, viscid, or concrete; gum; resin; bird-lime; inspissated extract. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 50.

كتة gĕtah, plantensap hetzij vloeibar of niet; gom van boomen. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 194.

Gŭtta, India-rubber. 1887 LIM HIONG SENG, *Manual of the Malay colloquial*, 1:80.

كتة getah, plantengom, vogellijm; g. pĕrtja guttapercha; g. karet, gomelastiek; g. kambodja, guttegom;...Voorts g. soendi, g. gĕrih en g. taban, drie soorten van guttapercha; g. poetih. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 573.

Also 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 337; 1875 FAVRE, 1:426; 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:32; 1884 WALL and TUUK, 3:9; 1895 MAYER, p. 105.

كتة *gĕtah*, plantengom, plantensap. Soorten van de gom zijn:—*balam*, gomelastiek;—*rambong*, de zoogenaamde getah pertja;—*djĕrĕnang*, drakenbloed. 1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 223.

Gitō.—Getah.—Plantensap. *Gitō godoe.*—Getah balam.—Gom. 1887 THOMPSON and WEBER, *Niasch-maleisch-nederl. wrdnbk.*, p. 61.

Gĕtah, A. gom, *Gĕtah kadjeng* boomgom. 1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Javaansch....wrdnbk.*, p. 103

Getah, gum, sap, the milky or gummy exudation from trees when the bark is cut. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 129.

Gĕtah, het sap uit boomen. 1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 182.

Gita, Harz, kleberiger Saft (der Bäume).
1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*, p. 134.

Maleisch getah, Sampitsch *getah*, Katingansch *gita*, gom, lijm, balsem. 1872 TIEDTKE, *Woordenlijst*, p. 71.

. . . *gâtta*, bep. *gattâya*,='t Mal. گتة, gom, lijm. B. *gâtta*....
1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 72.

Gum . . . *gŏta* getah.
1833 [THOMSEN], *Vocab. Eng. Bugis and Malay lang.*, p. 25.

Bird-line [*read* lime] . . . *gŏtah* getah. 1833 *Id.*, p. 24.

Sap . . . *gŏta* getah. 1833 *Id.*, p. 26.

Gutta has no wide use as an English word, but it is occasionally found. It is technical in chemistry.

The word which we incorrectly write *Gutta* ought to be written *Gătah*, which, in the Malay language, is a common name for any gum, exudation, or inspissated juice of a plant.
1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 1:405.

Pârcha. Name of the forest tree which yields some of the *guttah* of commerce. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 136.

Gĕtah گتة *gutta*, sap, gum. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:32.

They catch birds by means of bird-lime made of *gutta*, by horse-hair nooses, and by imitating their call.
1883 BIRD, *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 300. (Also on p. 7, 14, 111.)

Gutta-percha, a well-known gum, of manifold economic uses. The word came into English use soon after its first mention in 1842 or 1843, and had become familiar before 1848. It soon spread into the other languages of Europe: French *gutta-percha*, Spanish *gutapercha*, Portuguese *gutta percha*, Italian *gutta perca*, Dutch *gutta-percha*, *gutta-perga*, German *gutta-percha*, Swedish *gutta-percha*, Danish *gutta-perka*. In French, Dutch, and Swedish the *ch* is mistakenly pronounced as *c* or *k*; in Italian and Danish it is so written—a reasonable inference from an unreasonable orthography.

The Malay name is گتة ڤرچ getah percha, or گتة ڤرچه getah perchah. It means 'gum of percha.' For *gutta*, see the preceding article. Percha is given as the name of the tree, *Isonandra gutta* (Hooker 1847), from which the gum, or a similar gum, was obtaind; but the present gutta-percha of commerce is said to be all or mostly obtaind from other trees, and is cald by the nativs accordingly, getah tāban, getah rambong, getah sundi, getah gerih, etc. Other names

exist in the other dialects. But I hav no room for the botanic and commercial details. Ἐτυμολογῶ. See the English quotations below and the references there added.

Before the quotations for getah percha ar given, something must be said of percha. It does not appear in the earlier dictionaries, but it is enterd by Crawfurd (1852) and later lexicographers as the name of the tree which produces the gum.

Pârcha. Name of the forest tree which yields some of the guttah of commerce. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 136.

ڤرچه pĕrtjah, I. Soort van boom, die de gĕtah-pĕrtjah levert. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 156.

ڤرچ pĕrtja....II. Soort van boom, die de guttaperga (gĕtah pĕrtja) en een soort van olie levert. 1869 KLINKERT, p. 166.

ڤرچه perxah, nom de l'arbre qui produit la gomme nommée *gutta percha.* — getàh perxah, nom de cette gomme. 1875 FAVRE, 2:124.

ڤرچ I. pẹrtja, naam van een' boom die eene voortreffelijke soort van elastieke gom (gẹttah) oplevert, waarom de Europeanen ook dergelijke gommen van andere boomen met den algemeenen naam van, gẹtta pẹrtja bestempeld hebben; pōlau p., het eiland Sumatra. 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:407.

Gŭtta, gutta-percha; sap. [Note:] From Malay gutta, sap; and purcha, the particular tree from which it is procured. 1887 LIM HIONG SENG, *Manual of the Malay colloquial,* 1:79.

Pĕrtja, Isonandra gutta, Hassk. nat. fam. der Sapotaceae, groote boom, die de bekende Gĕtah-pĕrtja levert. 1895 MAYER, p. 196.

There is some easy recipience here, but the statement looks like a piece of verity. It sorts with other names of gummiferous trees of the Malayan Archipelago, where gummiferous trees abound.

But getah percha has been otherwise explaind as meaning 'gum of Sumatra,' there being an other word ڤرچ Percha, a name of Sumatra (as well as a third word ڤرچ percha, a rag, a remnant). Sumatra is also cald ڤولو ڤرچ Pūlau Percha, 'island of Percha.' This appears in what is given in Worcester (1860) as the Malay name for gutta-percha, namely "Gutta-Pulo-Percha," that is getah pūlau Percha. *Pulo* is Javanese, pūlau Malay. Tiedtke (1872), in a glossary of Bornean dialects, givs the Malay name of gutta-percha as getah maloe pertja; but there is no word maloe (*malu), in any applicable sense, in the Malay dictionaries. Can it be an error for poelau (pūlau)?

Maleisch getah maloe pertjah, Sampitsch *getah njatoh,* Katinganesch *gita njatoh,* gutta percha. 1872 TIEDTKE, *Woordenlijst,* p. 71.

At any rate percha does not appear to be known apart from the gum of whose name it forms a factor.

Gâtah-pârcha. The inspissated juice of the pârcha tree, Isonandra gutta of Sir William Hooker; the guttah-percha of commerce.

1852 CRAWFURD, p. 50.

گتّه gĕtah plantensap, hetzij vloeibar of niet; gom van boomen;—pertjah, gom van den pertjah-boom, gutta-percha;—kambodja, guttegom. (Bat. *gota*.) 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 194.

گتّه getàh, gomme, matière gluante qui découle de quelques arbres, glu. گرچه — getàh perxah, gomme de l'arbre nommé percha, le gutta-percha. كمبوج — getàh kembōja, gomme-gutte. گمبر — getàh gambir, le suc épaissi qui provient du gambir....

1875 FAVRE, 1:426.

Also gẹtta pẹrtja, 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:407; gĕtah pertja, 1893 KLINKERT, p. 454 and 573; gĕtah pĕrtjah, 1895 MAYER, p. 105.

The name *gĕtah percha* has past into Sundanese:

Gĕtah Percha, known only as a foreign product on Java. It is the gum of the Isonandra Gutta. Getah Percha is found on Sumatra, Borneo and adjacent isles. It is found, apparently as the gum of various trees, of which the Balam or Isonandra is the most prominent.

1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 129.

Gutta-percha was first brought to English and European notice in 1843, or, according to an other statement quoted by Yule, "a year or two" before that date. In 1847 Captain Mundy, Rajah Brooke's friend, speaks of it at length, as of recent introduction but already in great use:

The principal products of the north-west coast of Borneo are sago, pepper, rice, bees'wax, camphor, birds' nests, tortoise-shell, betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts, coal and other mineral and vegetable productions, such as *gutta percha*, vegetable wax, timber of first quality, oils, ebony wood, &c.... *Gutta percha* is a remarkable example of the rapidity with which a really useful invention becomes of importance to the English public. A year ago it was almost unknown, but now its peculiar properties are daily being made more available in some new branch of the useful or ornamental arts. The history of its introduction should urge the new colonists of Labuan to push with energy their researches into the as yet almost untrodden path of Bornean botany.

Dr. Oxley, of Singapore, has furnished the most complete description which has yet been published of the tree, and the manner in which its gum is collected by the natives. He describes the tree as being sixty or seventy feet in height, and two or three feet in diameter at the base; it is most commonly found in alluvial tracts, at the foot of the hills.... *Gutta percha* is not affected by boiling alcohol, but is readily dissolved

in boiling spirits of turpentine.... It is already extensively used in England for soles of boots and shoes, and for driving bands in machinery; it bids fair also to supersede all other materials in the manufacture of picture frames and other ornamental mouldings.

1847 MUNDY, *Journal*, in *Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes* (1848), 2 : 342–345.

By 1856 gutta percha was wrapping electric cables in the English and Irish channels, and the Mediterranean and Black seas:

Their most remarkable and valuable product is the *guttah-percha*, a few years ago used only for Malay horsewhips and knife-handles, but by the help of which the English and Irish channels, the Mediterranean and the Euxine, are now crossed by the electric telegraph. It was from the Peninsula, in fact, that this article was first made known to Europeans, more than three centuries after the country had been frequented by them. This was in 1843, and in justice to my relative, the late Dr. William Montgomerie, I am bound to mention that he first made the discovery, and was rewarded for it by the gold medal of the Society of Arts. 1856 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Islands*, p. 255.

See also 1855 BALFOUR, *Manual of bot.*, p. 158; 1860 WORCESTER; 1868 COLLINGWOOD (in Yule); 1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 365; 1886 YULE, p. 309 and 804.

Junco, an early form of the word JUNK, being directly from the Spanish and Portuguese *junco*, which is from the Malayan word: see JUNK.

The Spanish form *junco* is found in the 16th century.

Júnco, a kinde of boate vfed in China.

1623 MINSHEU, *Dict. in Sp. and Eng.*

Júnco, a Rufh. There is alfo a fort of a Boat in the Eaft Indies, call'd by this Name. 1705 STEVENS, *Span. and Eng. dict.*

Junco (el).—Jonque chinoise.

1882 BLUMENTRITT, *Vocab. de....l'espagnol des Philippines*, tr. Hugot (1884), p. 43.

Such ships as they haue to saile long voiages be called *Iuncos*.

1589 R. PARKE, tr. Mendoza, *Hist. Chin.* (1853), 1 : 148. (S. D.)

By this Negro we were advertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moors call a *Iunco*).

1591 BARKER'S *Acc. of Lancaster's voyage* (Hakluyt Soc. 18 . .), 2 : 589. (Y. p. 361.)

A shippe of China (such as they call *Iunckos*) laden with Silver and Golde. 1598 Tr. LINSCHOTEN'S *voyages* (1885), 2 : 253. (S. D.)

The Italian form **giunco*, in the plural *giunchi*, misrenderd *ciunche*, appears once in an English context:

From the whiche Ilandes [Moluccas] they are brought in shyps and barkes made without any iren tooles, and tyed together with cordes of date trees: with rounde sayles likewise made with the smaule twigges of the branches of date trees weaved together. These barks they call *Ciunche.* 1555 R. EDEN, *Voyages*, fol. 215 v°. (S. D.)

Junk, a large Eastern ship, especially a Chinese ship. Also formerly *junck*, *jounk*, *jonque*, and JUNCO, q. v.; French *jonque*, Spanish and Portuguese *junco*, Catalan *jonch*, Italian *giunco*, *giunca*, Venetian *zonco*, Dutch *jonk*, German *junke*, *jonke*, Swedish *jonk*, Danish *jonke*, Russian *zhonka*, late M. L. **juncus*, plural *junci*, *junchi*; a modification, probably first in Spanish or Portuguese, and apparently by vague conformity with the form of L. *juncus*, a rush (to which in fact the name, by a false etymology, was by some referd), of what would properly hav been Sp. and Pg. **jungo*, M. L. **jungus*, the word being derived (perhaps at second hand) from the Malay. The Malay word, indeed, like the original of GONG, appears in two forms, a monosyllabic jong or jung, and a dissyllabic ajong or ajung.

(1) Malay جوڠ jōng, jong, jūng, جڠ jong, jung, Achinese *jung*, Lampong *jung*, Javanese *jong*, Sundanese *jong*, Balinese *jong*, Macassar *jôngko*. The Macassar form looks as if it might be the precise original of the Spanish and Portuguese *junco*; but the reverse is true.

Jong (J). A ship or large vessel, a junk; v. Ajong.
1852 CRAWFURD, p. 61.

جوڠ djoeng. V. اجوڠ [ĕdjoeng]. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 90.

جوڠ jūng = اجڠ ejùng. 1875 FAVRE, 1:580.

جڠ djoeng—pers. جُنك [jung]—groot chineesch of indisch vaartuig. De kleine vaartuigen, waarmede de jongens spelen, heeten allen djoeng (z. edjoeng). 1880 WALL and TUUK, 1:468.

Djong, jonk (chin. vaartuig), vr. 1884 BADINGS, p. 260.

جڠ djoeng, I. jonk, groot chineesch vaartuig. Ook de scheepjes als kinderspeelgoed worden zoo genoemd. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 235.

Djoeng, een chineesch vaartuig, jonk. 1895 MAYER, p. 88.

جوڠ djong, een chineesche jonk.
1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 86.

Djoeng, vaartuig.
1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 69.

. . . [*jong*] N. K. une tache noire sur la peau; (et aussi, nom d'une ancienne voiture, et d'une barque chinoise).
1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 414.

Jong, a chinese junk; a ship. (Jav. . . . *Jong*, idem.)
1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 177.

Djong. Zie *hĕdjong.*

1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 252. . . . *djôngko*, bep. *djongkôwa*, soort van Chineesch vaartuig: jonk.

1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 403.

(2) Malay اجوڠ ajōng, ajong, ajūng, اجڠ ajong, ajung, Balinese hĕjong, Dayak ajong. The form ajong is to jong as agong to gong (see GONG). Perhaps both ajong and agong ar the result of the tendency to dissyllabism which characterizes the Malayan languages. Jong is the prevalent form. According to Clifford and Swettenham (1894), the Malay word, though usually written ajong, is always pronounced, in colloquial speech, jong.

أجوڠ ajōng a Chinese vessel commonly termed a junk. Ships or vessels in general. A species of shell-fish. Ajōng sārat a loaded junk. [Etc.] 1812 MARSDEN, p. 2.

[Marsden does not giv *jong*.]

اجوڠ adjong Sineesch vaartuig, jonk.

1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 4.

[R. van E. does not giv *djong*.]

Ajong (J). A ship, or large vessel; v. Jong. This is the word which Europeans have corrupted into junk and applied to the large vessels of the Chinese. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 3.

اجوڠ ĕdjoeng, jonk, groot schip. (Perz. جنك). 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 2.

اجڠ ĕdjoeng, een chineesch vaartuig. 1869 KLINKERT, p. 1.

اجڠ ejùng, jonque, grand navire chinois.... Selon Pij[nappel] ce mot serait le même que le persan جنك *jung*; mais dans cette langue il signifie: guerre, combat, et paraît plutôt être le chinois 戎 *jon* armes. On trouve ordinairement ce mot écrit اجوڠ *ejūng*. 1875 FAVRE, 1:65–66.

اجوڠ ejūng, v. اجڠ ejùng. 1875 *Id.*, 1:64.

اجڠ ĕdjong, zie djoeng. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 5.

Ajong اجوڠ A Chinese junk, the Chinese vessels usually seen in Malayan waters, a ship, a vessel.... Note: Though usually written with an initial *a*, ا, this word is always pronounced Jong, جوڠ, in the colloquial language. 1894 CLIFFORD and SWETTENHAM, 1:27.

In the old and ceremonial language of Bali, *hĕjong* answers to the general word *prāhu*. See PRAU.

Hĕdjong. 1. K[awi] en H[of-]t[aal] van *prahoe*. 2. K[awi] = *pajoeng* ['umbrella']. 1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch wdnbk.*, p. 36.

P'rahoe L[aag-Bal.] (bahitâ en hĕdjong H[oog-Bal.]) een inlandsch vaartuig, boot, schuit.... 1876 *Id.*, p. 226.

Adjong, (bas. Sang[iang], = *banama*). Schiff. *Malang-kusan adjong*, das Schiff absegeln lassen.—Männlicher Name.

1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*, p. 2.

An other Malay name for the junk is *wongkang*, Sundanese *wangkang*, Macassar *wangkang*. This is Chinese.

Wŏngkang وڠكڠ a junk. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:127.

Wangkang. a chinese ship, a junk.

1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 528.

. . . *wângkang*, Chinesche jonk.

1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 538.

In the following anecdote told by Wallace, the "Jong," mentiond by some nativs of the Aru islands as the proper name of "the great ship" which "is always in the great sea," is an echo of the Malay and Javanese name for 'junk.'

And so I was set down as a conjurer, and was unable to repel the charge. But the conjurer was completely puzzled by the next question: "What," said the old man, "is the great ship, where the Bugis and Chinamen go to sell their things? It is always in the great sea—its name is *Jong;* tell us all about it." In vain I inquired what they knew about it; they knew nothing but that it was called "Jong," and was always in the sea, and was a very great ship, and concluded with, "Perhaps that is your country?"

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 352. (Aru islands.)

The word has often been derived from the Chinese, the Chinese word being variously given as *chw'an*, *chw'en*, *chu'en*, *tsw'an* (G. *tschuen*, F. *tchouen*). Williams, in his great *Syllabic dictionary of the Chinese language* (1874), gives (p. 120), as the eighth article under the "syllable" *chw'en*, the word *chw'an*, "a ship, boat, bark, junk," with other senses and numerous phrases. At the head of the syllable "*chw'en*" (p. 119) he gives, as variant pronunciations of that syllable, "in Canton, *ch'ün*, *shün*, *shun*, and *shun;* in Swatow, *chw'an*, *chun*, *hun*, and *ch'un;* in Amoy, *chw'an*, *ch'an*, *swan*, and *ch'un;* in Fuhchau, *sung*, *ch'iòng*, *chw'a*, *chw'ang*, *tiòng*, and *chw'òng*," with other forms. Some of the forms ascribed to Fuhchau, *chw'ong*, *ch'iòng*, etc., certainly resemble the Malay jong, but which of these or the others ar used in the sense of jong is not stated. In Williams's *Tonic dictionary* of the Canton dialect (1856), under the syllable *shün*, appears *chw'en* in that sense.

舡 . . . *Chw'an.* A ship, boat. bark, junk, or whatever carries people on the water; a sort of apothecary's mortar; a long tea-saucer; to follow the stream; to drift, as a boat. [Many phrases follow.]

1874 WILLIAMS, *Syllabic dictionary of the Chinese language*, p. 120.

Shûn | 舡 . . . *Chu'en.* A ship, a junk, a vessel, a revenue cutter, a bark; a saucer; collar of a coat; a sort of mortar....

1856 WILLIAMS, *Tonic dictionary of the Chinese language in the Canton dialect*, p. 459.

Ship, *'chwên.* 1864 SUMMERS, *Rudiments of the Chinese lang.*, p. 143.

舡 shûn, a ship, a vessel, a junk; a saucer; a mortar.... [Many phrases follow.] 1871 LOBSCHEID, *Chinese and Eng. dict.*, p. 409.

Junco. Barco usado en la isla de Sumatra. De جنك *chonc* [jonc], chino, *tschuen*, que vale lo mismo. V. Aben Batuta IV, 239.

1886 EGUILAZ Y YANGUAS, *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas....de origen oriental*, p. 434.

In Morrison's vocabulary of the Ningpo dialect of Chinese, 'ship' is renderd by *jün*, exprest by a character pronounced differently. Whether even *jün* is connected with the Malay jung, jong, and if so, which is the original, ar questions not for me to decide.

Ship, *jün* 舡 (*ih-tsah*); merchant —, *sông-jün'* 商 —

1876 MORRISON, *An Anglo-Chinese vocab. of the Ningpo dialect*, p. 425.

There is one Malay name for a boat which probably does come from one of the Chinese forms cited, namely, Malay چونيا chûnīā, a flat-bottomd boat.

چونيا Chûnīā, a kind of boat, flat-bottomed and without a keel, introduced by the Chinese. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 121.

The word came so early in European mention (*c.* 1331) that it was not at first recognized as of eastern origin. It was supposed to be derived from the Latin *juncus*, a reed or rush. Yule says:

Dobner, the original editor of Marignolli, in the last century, says of the word (*junkos*): "This word I cannot find in any medieval glossary. Most probably we are to understand vessels of platted reeds (*a* juncis *texta*) which several authors relate to be used in India." It is notable that the same erroneous suggestion is made by Amerigo Vespucci in his curious letter to one of the Medici, giving an account of the voyage of Da Gama, whose squadron he had met at C. Verde on its way home.

1886 YULE, p. 360.

So America has been named after a false etymologist! But he was not the only famous man whose etymologies are "a juncis texta"—made of many rushes, and not worth one.

JUNK....This is one of the oldest words in the Europeo-Indian vocabulary. It occurs in the travels of Friar Odorico, written down in 1331,

and a few years later in the rambling reminiscences of John de' Marignolli. The great Catalan World-map of 1375 gives a sketch of one of those ships with their sails of bamboo matting, and calls them *Inchi*, no doubt a clerical error for *Iũchi*. [*Iunchi*, plural of **Iuncus*.]

1886 YULE, p. 360.

[See the quotations, dated 1551 ("Ciunche"), 1589 ("Iuncos"), 1591 ("Iunco"), 1598 ("Iunckos"), under JUNCO. Littré quotes the "Old Catalan *incho*" without question.]

And doubtless they had made havock of them all, had they not presently been relieved by two Arabian *Junks* (for so their small ill-built ships are named).... 1616 TERRY, *Voyage to East India* (ed. 1665, repr. 1777), p. 342. (Y.)

An hundred Prawes and *Iunkes*. 1625 PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, 1:2:43.

Bacon distinguishes between junks and "tall ships":

China also, and the great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but *Iunks* and Canoas, abounded then in tall Ships.

1627 (1658) BACON, *New Atlantis*, p. 12. (S. D.)

See other quotations in Yule, S. D., etc. Modern quotations ar innumerable.

Kahau, a long-nosed and long-taild simian of Borneo, cald also the proboscis-monkey.

Malay كاهو kāḥau, so cald, it is said, from its cry. We hav an other Malayan monkey named from its utterance, the Wauwau. See WAUWAU. See also BRUH, and other Malayan monkeys there mentiond.

كاهو kahau a species of long-tailed monkey, variously coloured. (Bat. Trans. vol. iii.) 1812 MARSDEN, p. 251.

كاهو kâhau eene foort van apen met lange ſtaarten, hebbende verſchillende kleuren. 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 302.

The imitativ nature of the name is indicated by the fact that in Dayak *kahau* means 'call':

Kahau, das Rufen: das gerufen werden, sein....

1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*, p. 202.

I find no entry of *kahau* as a Dayak name for the monkey; but *kahio* is a Dayak name for the orang-utan (1859 Hardeland, p. 203).

The appearances of *kahau* as an English word ar satisfactorily frequent. Simians hav their day again.

Another very remarkable kind [of *Semnopithecus*] is found in Borneo. It is *S. nasalis* (the *kahau*, or proboscis monkey), and, as its name im-

plies, it has an exceedingly long nose. In the young state, the nose is much smaller relatively, and is bent upwards. No similar structure was known to exist in any other ape whatever until quite recently.

1878 *Encyc. Brit.*, 2 : 151.

See also *Riverside nat. hist.* (1884–88), 5 : 522 ; WOOD, *New illustrated nat. hist.*, p. 12 ; WEBSTER (1864), etc.

Ketchup, also *catchup* (1690), *catsup* (1730), a well-known name for various kinds of sauces.

The etymology of *ketchup* has hitherto been obscure, and the correct form undetermind. The implication in Johnson's definition of *catsup* as "a kind of Indian pickles" is that the word is Indian, that is, East Indian, and it is stated in various dictionaries to be "East Indian." Indeed the first English mention of the word (1690) defines "catchup" as "a high East India sauce."

Two different statements, referring the word to a definit language, ar on record.

According to a statement quoted by Latham from Brande and Cox, the source is an alleged Japanese "kitjap," the name of "some similar condiment." But no Japanese *kitjap* can be found; indeed *kitjap* is an impossible form in that language. The statement may hav arisen from the fact that an other name for a similar condiment well known in the East, is Japanese; namely *soy*. See further below.

An other suggestion is that *ketchup* is from a Chinese source; but nothing like proof is offerd. [The suggestion is discust by the late Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, in a paper printed in the *Babylonian and oriental record*, November 1889, to which Professor Jackson kindly directed my attention after I read this paper and pointed out the origin of the word in Malay, as set forth below. Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie finds no evidence for the asserted Chinese origin but concludes:

My impression is that the word may have a Chinese origin, but not from China. It may have come from Australasia or the Malay peninsula, where the Chinese colonists of southern China are so numerous. The expression may have been made there, with a local acceptation unknown in the mother country.

1889 TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, in the *Babylonian and oriental record*, vol. 3, no. 12, Nov., p. 284–286.]

It does not appear from what source the form *kitjap*, which is cited in Brande and Cox as "Japanese," and in Latham as "Oriental," and elsewhere as "East Indian," found its way into the round of English mention; but it is clear that *kitjap* is a Dutch spelling, and the presumption is that it represents a nativ word of some part of the Dutch East Indies. Any one familiar with the form and nature of words in Malay, would recognize the form of *kitjap*, that is *kichap*, as characteristic of that language. As a matter of fact the word is found in Malay, namely,

كيچڤ kēchap, kīchap, in Dutch transliteration ketjap. It is found also in Lampong, *kichap*, and in Sundanese, *kechap*.

The following ar the quotations for the Malay kēchap, kīchap, as enterd in Malay dictionaries. It will be seen that they ar all recent.

Kétjap, sôja, o. [=onzijdig]. 1884 BADINGS, p. 284.

Kichap, Tau-iu,* sauce. [Note:] *Chinese.
1887 LIM HIONG SENG, *Manual of the Malay colloquial*, 1:57.

كيچڤ ketjap, de Japansche soya. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 563.

Ketjap, inlandsche soja, soja. 1895 MAYER, p. 137.

But an earlier mention of the Malay kēchap occurs in the following (1876), where it is said that the word is not known in the Moluccas.

Soi. M[anado], A[mbon], Holl. *soja;* kétjap is niet bekend.
1876 CLERCQ, *Het Maleisch der Molukken*, p. 53.

Beside these five professedly Malay entries, I find two extra-Malay, but in the general sense Malayan entries, showing the word in the languages of Lampong and Sunda. But I hav no dout it is merely the Malay word taken into these tongues.

The Lampong entry is brief. It defines the word as 'soy.'

Kitjap, soja.
1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 11.

The Sundanese entry (1862) is the earliest I hav found:

Kéchap, Catchup, a dark coloured sauce prepared by the Chinese.
1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 212.

This may imply that the name itself is of Chinese origin; but that is not said by Rigg. *Junk* is an other Malayan word commonly associated with the Chinese, but with no proved source in the Chinese language. Either might be from a provincial or extra-territorial Chinese source not yet traced.

No one, except Rigg (1862), seems to hav noticed that this word kēchap is the same as the English *ketchup;* but the form and the sense make it clear. Ketjap is defined by Klinkert as "the Japanese soy"; by Mayer as "the nativ soy," meaning, I take it, 'the nativ preparation answering to the Japanese article called *soy*.' What is soy? The word is from the Japanese. It exists in the Malay of the Molucca islands as soi (1876 Clercq as quoted). The Japanese word is *shō-yu*, "a kind of sauce made of fermented wheat and beans" (1867 Hepburn). The Chinese form, in the Mandarin, is *sh'-yiu* (1874 Williams) or *shi-yu* (1872 Doolittle), Canton *shi-yau* (1870 Chalmers, 1856 Williams), Ningpo *tsiang-yiu* (1876 Morrison). The Chinese forms ar probably original. *Tsiang-yiu*, I am told, answers phonetically to *shō-yu*.

Shōyu, . . . 醤油, *n.* Soy, a kind of sauce made of fermented wheat and beans. 1867 HEPBURN, *Japanese and Eng. dict.*, p. 422.

. . . *Shi.* Salted eatables, as beans, oysters, olives, which are afterwards dried and used as relishes; *tau shi* salted beans; *shi yau* soy; *mín shi* salted flour and beans used in cooking; *lám shi* stoned and pickled olives; *tau shi kéung* salted beans and ginger—a relish.

1856 WILLIAMS, *Tonic dict. of the Chinese lang. in the Canton dialect*, p. 438.

Shi-yau [Cantonese dial.].

1870 J. CHALMERS, *Eng. and Cantonese dict.* 3d ed., p. 69. (T. de L. in *B. and O. Record*, Nov. 1889, p. 284.)

Shi-yu [Mandarin dial.].

1872 J. DOOLITTLE, *Vocab. of the Chinese lang.*, 1 : 272. (Id.)

Soy, *tsiang'-yiu* 醤油.

1876 MORRISON, *Anglo-Chinese vocab. of the Ningpo dialect*, p. 442.

The Chinese prepare from the *gédelé* a species of *soy*, somewhat inferior to that brought from Japan. 1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java*, 1 : 98.

The word kēchap, whatever its origin, is in every respect in accord with Malay analogies. It looks just like a nativ. Indeed, there ar several other words of similar form, among which, wer kēchap, as a name for soy, more firmly establisht, one might reasonably seek its origin. There is, in the first place, a word كچڤ kĕchap, مڠچڤ mĕngĕchap, which means 'to smack with the lips,' 'to taste with the lips or tongue'; كچڤن kĕchapan, 'a taste, smack.' I omit the references.

This kĕchap, 'to smack with the lips,' appears to stand in some relation with the word kachup, 'a kiss,' mengachup-i, 'give a kiss.' So many unprejudiced observers hav testified to the great similarity between the two actions, that the connection can not be denied. The English *smack* may be heard in support of this observation. I omit illustrations.

There is an other word kĕchap, 'to wink,' which may perhaps without undue subtlety be brought into relation with 'smack,' and so with the tasting or "sampling" of things that appear on brief reflection to hav an approved quality.

The first English mention of the word *ketchup* which I hav noted is one quoted from a "canting" dictionary assignd to the date 1690, by others to "about 1699." Of course it was never a "cant" word. It was and is a common mistake for compilers of dictionaries of "cant" and "slang" to include in their collection stray words of any kind, foreign, provincial, or archaic, not familiar to them or to "the general reader."

Catchup, a high East-India Sauce.

1690 (c. 1699?) "E. B., gent." *New dict. of terms, ancient and modern, of the canting crew in its several tribes of gipsies, beggers, thieves, cheats &c., with an addition of proverbs and phrases.* [Quot. from N. E. D. Title from *Bibliographical list*, ed. Skeat and Nodal, Eng. dial. soc., 1877, p. 159.]

And, for our home-bred British cheer,
Botargo, *catsup*, and caveer.

1730 SWIFT, *Panegyric on the Dean.*

Bailey, that industrious compiler, tho he mist the word in his "Universal etymological dictionary" (1721 and 1727 and many later issues), secured it, no dout because he found it in what he appropriated, in his "Dictionarium domesticum, being a new and compleat houshold dictionary for the use both of city and country" (1736). Under "Catchup" he givs two recipes. I quote the first in full:

Catchup that will keep good 20 Years. Take 2 quarts of ſtrong ſtale beer, and half a pound of anchovies, waſh them clean, cloves and mace of each a quarter of an ounce, of pepper half a quarter of an ounce, a race or 2 of ginger, half a pound of ſhallots, and a pint of flap mushrooms well boil'd and pickl'd. Boil all theſe over a ſlow fire; till one half is conſum'd, then run it through a flannel-bag; let it ſtand till it is quite cold, then put it up in a bottle and ſtop it cloſe. One ſpoonful of this to a pint of melted butter, gives both taſte and colour above all other ingredients; and gives the moſt agreeable reliſh to fiſh ſauce. It is eſteem'd by many, to exceed what is brought from India.

1736 BAILEY, *Dictionarium domesticum.*

Catchup of Mushrooms. Fill a ſtewpan full of the large flap muſhrooms....[etc.] 1736 *Id.*

Under "mushrooms" and in paragraphs following, "ketchup" is mentiond several times:

Mushrooms are produc'd plentifully in the fields in September, and therefore this is the properest time to provide them for making of *ketchup* and mushroom gravy.... 1736 *Id.*, s. v. *mushrooms* (1st par.).

Catsup, n. s. A kind of Indian pickles, imitated by pickled mushrooms. 1755 JOHNSON.

CATSUP, kăt'sh-ŭp. s. A kind of pickle. 1780 SHERIDAN.

See also 1800 Mason (1883), *Suppl. to Johnson's dict.*; 1818 Todd; 1828 Webster, etc.

It will be noticed that Sheridan (so Latham later) givs *catsup* the pronunciation of *catchup*, which he does not enter. He omits also *ketchup*.

The right form is *ketchup*. *Catchup*, tho givn by some dictionaries as the "correct" form, is a mistake, and *catsup* is quite wrong.

Kris, also *kriss*, *criss*, *crise*, *cryse*, *creese*, *crease*, *cress*, a Malayan dagger.

The word is familiar in English literature, in romance and poetry, where it is now usually speld *creese*. In travels it is

made more 'nativ'-looking, *kris* or *kriss*. There is something so nice and savage about *k*.

The word is found in other European languages, French *criss*, Dutch *kris*, Swedish *kris*, etc.

The word is in Malay written either with a long vowel, indicated, كريس krīs or karīs, kĕrīs, or with a short vowel, not indicated, كرس kris or karis, kĕris; sometimes transliterated kres. It is found throughout the whole Archipelago. The dagger is a tropical fruit, tho not unknown in what ar cald the temperate zones. The other forms ar Achinese كريس *krīs*, *kĕrīs*, Batak *horis*, Lampong *kĕris*, Javanese *kris*, *keris*, Sundanese *kris*, Balinese *keris*, *k'ris* (alternativ to *kadūtan*), Dayak *karis*, Macassar *kurisi*, Sangi-Manganitu *kirise*, Tagal *kalis*, Bisaya *kalis*.

The word is said to be original in Javanese. I suppose it would be hard to prove it so, or to prove it not so. Yule suggests that it is identical with the Hindustani *kirich*, a straight sword, and says "perhaps Turki *kīlīch* is the original." The Turki *kīlīch* I do not find in Shaw's vocabulary (1880) or in Vambéry (1878). The Hindustani "كرچ *kirch* or *kirich*" is markt by Shakespear (1817) as "perhaps from Malay كريس krīs" (p. 592). And indeed why should not the Malays be allowd to hav some words of their own, even to lend? Or is "the cursed Malayan creese" Malayan only in use?

كريس krīs or كرس kris a dagger, poignard, kris or creese. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 258.

كرس kris a weapon. (Vid. كريس krīs.) 1812 MARSDEN, p. 256.

كريس kries of kris pook, ponjaard, (kris). 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 310.

كرس kris een ponjaard. (zie *kries*.) 1825 *Id.*, p. 308.

Kris (J). A dagger, a poniard, a dirk, a kris; v. kâris and kres. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 80.

Kres (J). A kris, a dagger; v. kris and kâris. 1852 *Id.*, p. 80.

Kâris (J). A kris, a dagger; v. kris. 1852 *Id.*, p. 75.

كرس keris, kris, criss, poignard....Jav. et Sund. . . . *keris* et . . . *kris*. Bat. . . . *horis*. Mak. *kurisi*. Tag. et Bis. . . . *kalis*. 1875 FAVRE, 1:366.

Also in 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 177; 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:505; 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:53; 1893 KLINKERT, p. 515; 1895 MAYER, p. 136.

Krîs | *kris* | couteau (natif) | knife (native). 1882 BIKKERS, *Malay, Achinese, French, and Eng. vocab.*, p. 51.

كريس *keris*, kris, een soort van dolk. Soorten van krissen zijn: [etc.] 1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 207.

Lampung *kăris.*

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 2:170 (Vocab.).

Kĕris (ook Ab[oengsch], v. H.); een wapen....

1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 9.

. . . [*kris*] et . . . [*kĕris*], N. un criss, sorte de poignard dont se servent les insulaires de l'archipel indien.

1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-francais*, p. 137.

Kris, the well known Malay weapon or dagger of this name.

1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 230.

Kĕris V[oorname taal] van *kadoetan....Kadoet* de gordel van voren; *ngadoet* in den gordel steken ; *kadoetan* L[age taal] (*k'ris* V.) eene kris.

1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 62, 65.

Madura *kris.*

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 2 : 170 (Vocab.).

Hardeland thus describes the Dayak kris :

Karis, eine Art Dolch ; das Messer 10–15 Zoll lang, zweischneidig, breit am Griffe, spitz auslaufend; das Messer entweder grade (*sapukal*), oder mehrfach gekrümmt (*parong*); der von feinem Holze oder Knochen gemachte Griff ist gewöhnlich schön geschnitzt, z. B. als ein Schlangenkopf, etc. ; er wird nur als Zierrath getragen....

1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*, p. 241.

Maleisch kris, Sampitsch *kris*, Katingansch *karis*, dolk, kris.

1872 TIEDTKE, *Woordenlijst*, p. 64.

Kris, vr. (dolk) *kīrise.*

1860 RIEDEL, *Sangi-Manganitusch woordenlijstje*, p. 392.

Timuri *kris*, Rotti *kris.*

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 2:170 (Vocab.).

Cális. Espada, ó acero.

1854 SERRANO, *Dicc. de términos comunes tagalo-castellano*, p. 27.

The word often occurs in the Hakluyt voyages speld *crise, cryse, crese*, etc.

The custom is that whenever the King [of Java] doth die....the wives of the said King....every one with a dagger in her hand (which dagger they call a *crese*, and is as sharp as a razor) stab themselves to the heart.

1586–88 CAVENDISH, in *Hakluyt* iv. 337. (Y.) (See other quots. in Y.).

....Their weapons, which they call Chiffe [read *Criffe*].

1613 PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, p. 426.

....Thither they goe all, and turning their faces Eastward, stabbe themselues with a *Crise* or Dagger to the heart. 1613 *Id.*, p. 456.

The Malays and Javanese make the kris in innumerable shapes, all warranted to kill, and adorn them with a pleasing exuberance of fancy, and with pious care. So we adorn our swords and pistols and guns. It has ever been the sweet office of Art to mitigate the asperities of Murder by improving and beautifying its weapons; and, in our Western civilization, at least, no one,

however poor, need go without a beautiful implement of slaughter. But in the Far East, as in the West, these apparent contemplations of death ar often for ornament, rather than for utility.

The extraordinary demand for the dagger or *kris* has given rise to a subdivision of labour in its fabrication, unknown to any other employment. The manufacture of the blade, of the handle, and of the scabbard, are each distinct occupations. The shape of the *kris* varies with every tribe, nay, in every district of the same country; and there is according to taste and fancy, an endless variety, even among the same people. The burthensome exuberance of the Javanese language furnishes us with fifty-four distinct names for as many varieties of the *kris*, specifying, that twenty-one are with straight, and thirty-three with waving, or serpentine blades!

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 1:190.

Spears, cannon, and *krises*, are frequently particularized by names.

1820 *Id.*, 2:349, note.

Raffles, in his *History of Java* (1817), givs two plates of Javan krises, showing more than forty styles.

We went first to the house of the Chinese Bandar, or chief merchant, where we found a number of natives well dressed, and all conspicuously armed with *krisses*, displaying their large handles of ivory or gold, or beautifully grained and polished wood.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 116.

All wore the *kris*, or Malay crooked dagger, on the beauty and value of which they greatly pride themselves. 1869 *Id.*, p. 132.

The Malay weapons consist of the celebrated *kris*, with its flame-shaped wavy blade; the sword, regarded, however, more as an ornament.... 1883 BIRD, *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 24.

Mr. Ferney has also given me a *kris*. When I showed it to Omar this morning, he passed it across his face and smelt it, and then said, "This *kris* good—has ate a man."

1883 *Id.*, p. 229. (See also Forbes, p. 66 and 224.

From the noun *kris, kriss*, etc., was early formd the verb *kris, kriss, criss, crease;* Pg. **crisar* in derivativ *crisada*, a blow with a kris.

This Boyhog we tortured not, because of his confession, but *crysed* him. 1604 Scot's *Discourse of Iava*, in Purchas, 1:175. (Y. p. 213.)

.... A Dutch officer .... snatched his kris from the scabbard. Martopuro perceiving this, attempted to make his escape, but was seized and *krised* on the spot.

1812 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 2:348.

All the natives recommend Mr. Carter to have him "*krissed*" on the spot; "for if you don't," said they, "he will rob you again."

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 133. (Also p. 137.)

Lorikeet, a bird of the parrot kind, resembling the lory.

Lorikeet is partly Malayan, partly Latin and partly Spanish, the last two elements being added by English hands. It is formd from *lory* (which is explaind below) by adding the syllable *-keet* from *parrakeet.*

Lorikeet....Baird. 1860 WORCESTER.

Six different kinds of woodpeckers and four kingfishers were found here, the fine hornbill, Buceros lunatus, more than four feet long, and the pretty little *lorikeet*, Loriculus pusillus, scarcely more than as many inches. 1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 83. (Also p. 146, 275.)

Lory, a bird of the parrot kind, found in the Molucca islands; also used, at times, as a general name for 'parrot.'

The word is found in English in two pronunciations, (1) speld *lory*, also probably somewhere **lori*, pronounced lō'r*i*; (2) speld *loory*, *lury*, *luri*, pronounced lū'r*i* (not liū'r*i*). The second form is nearer to the original Malay.

In French the word is found written *lauri* (1705), that is **lori*; and *loury*, that is **louri* = Eng. *lury*, *luri.*

The source is Malay لوري or لور lūrī, lūri, Javanese *luri*, Sundanese *luri*, Sangi-Manganitu *lūrin*, and this لوري lūrī, lūri, is a dialectal form of the more familiar Malay نوري nūrī, nūri, whence the now obsolete English form *nory*, *nury*. See NORY.

لوري lūrī a bird of the parrot kind. (Vid. نوري nūrī.)
1812 MARSDEN, p. 310.

لوري loerie eene foort van papegaaijen. (Zie *noerie.*)
1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 361.

لوري loeri, = noeri.
1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 212. (Sim. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 638.)

لورى lūri = نورى *nūri.* 1875 FAVRE, 2:541.

لور lōēri of nōēri, batav., roode papagaai.—(B.)
1884 WALL and TUUK, 3:94.

Loerri, A. gekleurde papegaai.
1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Javaansch en Nederduitsch woordenboek*, p. 312.

. . . [*luri*] N. K....perroquet.
1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 316.

Luri, a beautiful, red, middle-sized parrot brought from the Moluccos. (Another name used at Batavia is *Nori.*)
1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 261.

Papegaai, m. *lūrin.*
1860 RIEDEL, *Sangi-Manganitusch woordenlijstje*, p. 401.

The Spanish *loro*, Portuguese *louro*, a parrot, is probably an adaptation of **lori*, accommodated to Sp. *loro*, Port. *louro*, dun, yellow. See the quotation from Stevens.

Lóro, m. dun coloured. Alfo a parret.

1623 MINSHEU, *Dict. in Span. and Eng.*, p. 160.

Lóro, Dun-colour'd; alfo a Parrot. But more particularly a fort of Parrot all Green, except only the Tips of the Wings and Head, which are Yellow. But uf'd for any Parrot.

1705 STEVENS, *Span. and Eng. dict.*

Lory appears in English use long after *nory*. See NORY.

The large kind, which are of the size of a raven, are called maccaws; the next size are simply called parrots; those, which are entirely white, are called *lories;* and the lesser size of all are called parrakeets.

1774 GOLDSMITH, *Hist. of the earth* (1790), 5:273. (Jodrell 1820.)

'Twas Camdeo riding on his *lory*,
'Twas the immortal Youth of Love.

1809 SOUTHEY, *Curse of Kehama*, 10:19.

نوري nūrī, the *lury*, a beautiful bird of the parrot kind brought from the Moluccas.... 1812 MARSDEN, p. 350.

Gay, sparkling *loories*, such as gleam between
The crimson blossoms of the coral-tree
In the warm isles of India's sunny sea.

1817 MOORE, *Lalla Rookh* (1868), p. 61.

Soon after I arrived, a tree, as large as our oak, became filled with great scarlet flowers, and in the early morning flocks of red *luris* (*Eos rubra*, Gml.) and other parrakeets, with blue heads, red and green breasts, and the feathers on the under side of the wings of a light red and brilliant yellow (*Trichoglossus cyanogrammus*, Wagl.), would come to feed on them. 1869 BICKMORE, *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago*, p. 259. (Also p. 242, 256.)

The most remarkable [birds] were the fine crimson *lory*, Eos rubra—a brush-tongued parroquet of a vivid crimson colour, which was very abundant. 1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 228.

I here saw for the first time the rare black *lory* from New Guinea, Chalcopsitta atra. 1869 *Id.*, p. 230. (Also p. 253, 275. See also Forbes, p. 126; Yule, p. 398.)

Maleo, a remarkable bird of Celebes and the Molucca islands, a megapode ('big-foot') or mound-builder.

I do not find the word in the regular Malay dictionaries, but a Malay form mauleo is cited in Ekris's vocabulary of the languages of the Amboina islands, and a form moléo in Clercq's vocabulary of 'The Malayan of the Moluccas,' who ascribes to Amboina a form **muléu* (in his Dutchified spelling *moeléoe*). Valentyn (1726) cites "malleoe," that is **malleu*, **maleu*, and

"moeleoe" that is **muleu*, as a nativ name in Amboina (Newton). Ekris cites an Alfurese form *madeun*. In the Banks' islands, far to the east, it is *malau*. Other forms in and near the Molucca islands, as given by Ekris, ar *muma*, *memai*, *momal*. It is possible that these ar related to mauleo, moleo. A little thing like this does not shock the phonetic sense in the happy eastern seas. In Timor the name is *kes*. In the Philippine islands the bird was cald *tabon*, a name which has appeard several times in English context, but is excluded from the present paper.

The word is apparently to be regarded as nominally Malay, taken up into the liberal vocabulary of that Eastern English from a nativ name in Celebes or the Moluccas.

Muma, strandvogel die zijn eijeren in 't zand begraaft (Ml. mauleo) (T. R. Kr. H. W. K.)—*memai* (P.)—*madeun* (A.)—*momal* (Ht. N.).

1864–65 A. VAN EKRIS, *Woordenlijst .... Ambonsche eilanden*, p. 312.

Moléo M[anado], de bekende vogel, Megacephalon rubripes (A[mbon] moeléoe; zie *kès*). 1876 CLERCQ, *Het Maleisch der Molukken*, p. 36.

Boeroeng kès. T[imor], de moleo (zie dat woord). 1876 *Id.*, p. 28.

One traveler in the Archipelago has understood the name as "malayu," as if it meant literally 'Malay':

I was specially anxious to get a specimen of the *malayu*, as the Malays strangely name a bird, the *Megapodius Forsteni*, which is allied to the hen. The common name for these birds is "mound-builders," from their peculiar habit of scratching together great heaps of sand and sticks, which are frequently twenty or twenty-five feet in diameter, and five feet high. These great hillocks are their nests, and here they deposit their eggs. 1869 BICKMORE, *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago*, p. 287.

The maleo first becomes conspicuous in English in Wallace's classical work.

Among these [birds] were the rare forest Kingfisher (Crittura cyanotis), a small new species of Megapodius, and one specimen of the large and interesting *Maleo* (Megacephalon rubripes), to obtain which was one of my chief reasons for visiting this district [in Celebes].

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 202.

It is in this loose, hot black sand that those singular birds the "*Maleos*" deposit their eggs. 1869 *Id.*, p. 203.

The feet of the *Maleo* are not nearly so large or strong in proportion as in these birds [Megapodii and Talegalli], while its claws are short and straight instead of being long and much curved. 1869 *Id.*, p. 204.

The curious helmeted *Maleo* (Megalocephalon rubripes) is quite isolated, having its nearest (but still distant) allies in the Brush-turkeys of Australia and New Guinea. 1869 *Id.*, p. 210.

They [the Megapodii of the Moluccas] are allied to the "Maleo" of Celebes, of which an account has already been given, but they differ

in habits, most of these birds frequenting the scrubby jungles along the sea-shore, where the soil is sandy, and there is a considerable quantity of *débris*, consisting of sticks, shells, seaweed, leaves, &c.

1869 *Id.*, p. 304. (Other instances p. 202, 203, 205.)

.... *Maleos*, whose terra-cotta eggs are eagerly hunted for by the natives as a table luxury. 1885 FORBES. *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 295.

The interesting bird known as *Megacephalon maleo* is a native of Celebes, and is confined to the littoral parts of the island. It abounds in the forests, and feeds on fruits, descending to the sea-beach in the months of August and September to deposit its eggs. ....The *maleo* is a handsome bird, the upper parts and tail being glossy black, and the under parts rosy white.... 1884-88 *Riverside nat. hist.*, 4 : 231.

A remarkable megapod is found in all the groups, if not of more than one species, at any rate with different habits. At Savo, where without any attempt at domestication they have become private property, they lay in a carefully divided and appropriated patch of sand, and come out of the bush, as the natives say, twice a day to lay and look after their eggs. In the Banks' Islands and the New Hebrides they lay their eggs in the hollow of a decayed tree or in a heap of rubbish they have scratched together. In the Banks' Islands these birds are called *malau*, as they are *maleo* in Celebes.

1891 CODRINGTON, *The Melanesians; studies in their anthropology and folk-lore*, p. 17, 18.

In 1726 Valentyn published his elaborate work on the East Indies, wherein (deel iii. bk. v., p. 320) he very correctly describes the Megapode of Amboina under the name of "Malleloe" [read "Malleoe"; in Dict. 1893 "Moeleoe or Malleoe"], and also a larger kind found in Celebes, so as to shew he had in the course of his long residence in the Dutch settlements become personally acquainted with both.

1893 NEWTON, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 15 : 827, note ; also 1893 NEWTON and GADOW, *Dict. of birds*, p. 540, note.

Maleo, see MEGAPODE.

1893 NEWTON and GADOW, *Dict. of birds*, p. 530.

The Malayan maleo is probably connected with the name of an Australian megapode, which is said to be "commonly known in England as the Mallee-bird." (1883 Newton, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 15 : 827 ; 1893 *Dict. of birds*, p. 530.)

Mamuque, a strange wild fowl which our forefathers, the stouter-hearted of them, read about in Sylvester's pitiless translation of the painful Du Bartas. I postpone the quotations until the origin of the name has been disclosed.

Sylvester's *mamuque* is from the French *mamuque*, in Cotgrave *mammuque*, accepted as the name of a bird thus described by that worthy lexicographer:

Mammuque: f. A winglesse bird, of an vnknowne beginning, and after death not corrupting; she hath feet a hand long, & so light a

body, so long feathers, that she is continually carried in the ayre, whereon she feeds ; some call her the bird of Paradice, but erroniously ; for that hath wings, and differs in other parts from this.

1611 COTGRAVE.

This interesting description is repeated unchanged in the later editions, 1650, 1660, 1673. The scientific gravity of the concluding words, showing wherein the "mammuque" differs from the "bird of Paradice," could not be surpast at the present day. The myth is explaind under MANUCODIATA.

The French *mamuque* is a scribal error, apparently establisht in use, for **manuque*, which represents the Italian *manuche*, the name of this bird in Florio (1598) and earlier.

The Italian form *manuche* arose (perhaps as a plural of **manuca ?*) from a misunderstanding of some form of the full name, which also appeard as *manucodiata* (taken perhaps as **manuca diata?*).

Manuche, a fine colored bird in India, which neuer toucheth the ground but when he is dead. 1598 FLORIO.

Manúche, a fine-coloured bird in India which neuer toucheth the ground but when he is dead. | *Manucodiáta*, the Paradise-bird, which is said to haue no feete. 1611 FLORIO.

Manucodiáta, *Manúche*, a fine coloured bird in India, which is said neuer to touch the ground, but when he is dead, and to have no feet, called the Paradise-bird. 1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano.

Manuche, vne sorte d'oiseau qui meurt aussi tost qu'il touche la terre. 1660 DUEZ, *Dittionario italiano & francese*, p. 513.

Sylvester, following Du Bartas, describes the phenix and other rare birds. Then he brings in the strangest bird of all :

> But note we now, towards the rich Moluques,
> Those passing strange and wondrous (birds) **Mamuques*[1]
> (VVond'rous indeed, if Sea, or Earth, or Sky,
> Saw ever wonder, swim, or goe, or fly)
> None knowes their nest, none knowes the dam that breeds them :
> Food-less they liue ; for, th' Aire alonely feeds them :
> VVingles they fly : and yet their flight extends,
> Till with their flight, their vnknow'n lives-date ends.
>
> [1] [Marg. **With vs cald Birds of Paradise.*]
>
> 1598 SYLVESTER, *Du Bartas his diuine weekes and workes* (1613), p. 135.

The poet thought Wisdom soard like a "mamuque" :

> Last, Wisdom coms, with sober countenance :
> To th' euer-Bowrs her oft a-loft t' aduance,
> The light *Mamuques* wing-les wings she has :
> Her gesture cool, as comly-graue her pase.
>
> 1598 *Id.*, p. 559.

In the course of the seventeenth century the bird began to fly low, and then the story faded away. See MANUCODIATA. It was a fable; but it is not every fable that ends in a bird of Paradise.

Manucodiata, a bird of paradise. This word is found in English works of the seventeenth century. It is a transfer from the Italian and New Latin *manucodiata*, which is an ingenious Latin masking of the original Malay name, مانق ديوات mānuḳ dēwāta. It means 'bird of the gods' or 'bird of heaven.' It has been renderd also "celestial bird" (Marsden), "holie Bird" (Purchas), and "God's bird" (Wallace), but is commonly renderd after the New Latin of the Dutch Orientalists, "bird of paradise" or "paradise-bird." The two terms of the name ar explaind below. The second term is Sanskrit. Other Malayan names of the bird ar mentiond below in due order.

The following ar the quotations for mānuḳ dēwāta.

Manuk dēwāta the bird of paradise (in the language of the Molucca islands, being by the Malays more usually termed būrong sūpan or the elegant bird). 1812 MARSDEN, p. 140.

مانق mānuk (Eastern islands) bird; fowl. Mānuk dēwāta the bird of paradise, or būrong sūpan. 1812 *Id.*, p. 318.

Manuk-dewata (J and S). The bird of paradise; literally, "the bird of the gods." 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 97.

مانق mānuḳ, oiseau. ديوات — mānuḳ dēwāta, l'oiseau de paradis. 1875 FAVRE, 2:332.

(See also 1:849 s. v. dēwāta, quoted below.)

The name mānuḳ dēwāta is found also in Balinese, *manuk dèwatå.*

Manoek gevogelte in 't algemeen; kip, hoen, haan;... — *dèwatå* de paradijsvogel.

1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 168.

The Malay مانق mānuḳ 'bird,' 'fowl,' appears in nearly all the languages of the Archipelago. It is nativ in the eastern islands and in Polynesia. The forms ar Batak *manuk*, Achinese *manok*, Lampong *manuk*, Javanese *manuk* (Favre, *Dict. malais*, 1875, but not in Favre, *Dict. javanais*, 1870, nor in Roorda van Eysinga 1835), Sundanese *manuk* (Favre 1875, but not in Rigg 1862), Balinese *manuk*, Dayak *manok*, Bareë (Borneo) *manuk*, *manu*, Bugis *manok*, Buton *manumanu*, Menado *manu*, Sulu *manuk*, Buru *manut*, Amboina *manu*, *manuol*, Alfurese *manu* and *pam*, Tagala *manok*, Bisaya *manuk*, etc. See the quotations below, and a list, including additional forms *manoko*, *manúi*, *manúti*, *manok*, *mano*, *manúe*, *manúo*, *manuwan*, *malok*, and *namo*, in Wallace, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 471; also *manufoik*, *manhui* in Forbes, p. 491.

The common Polynesian form is *manu*. The like and other forms exist in the Melanesian and Micronesian languages. A long list is given in Tregear's *Maori-Polynesian comparative dictionary*, 1891, p. 208, 209.

مانق mānuk (Eastern islands) bird; fowl....1812 MARSDEN, p. 318.

مانق mānuḳ oiseau . . . Jav. et Sund. . . . *manuk*. Bat. . . . *manuk*, poule, volaille. Tag. et Bis. . . . *manok*. 1875 FAVRE, 2:332.

Also 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 368; 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 97; 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 218, etc.

Manu (T. K. N. *manu*; L. *manuk*), kip, haan. NB. In de meeste M.P. talen *manuk*, *manu*, 'vogel, kip.'

1894 KRUYT, *Woordenlijst van de Bareëtaal*, p. 44.

Manu, vogel, kip (T. R. Kr. H. W. K. P. A.) — *manuol* (Ht. N.).

1864 A. VAN EKRIS, *Woordenlijst....Ambonsche eilanden*, p. 307.

Boeroeng, *pani*. 1874 JELLESMA, *Woordenlijst van de taal der Alifoeren op het eiland Boeroe*, p. 5.

The other common Malay name of the bird, بورغ ديوات būrung dēwāta, 'bird of the gods,' appears also in Achinese, *burung diwata*. Būrung is the regular Malay name for 'bird.'

Bourong. Auis, bourong diwata Auis paradisea.

1631 HAEX, *Dictionarium Malaico-Latinum*, p. 10.

Auis....bourong. Auis paradisea. Di wata [read bourong diwata]. 1631 HAEX, *Dictionarium Latino-Malaicum*, p. 9.

Burung-dewata. Bird of paradise; lit. "bird of the gods."

1852 CRAWFURD, p. 33.

بورغ boeroeng, vogel;.... — dewata of — soepan, paradijsvogel. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 46.

بورغ būrung, oiseau....ديوات — būrung dēwāta ou سوڤو — būrung sōpo, l'oiseau de paradis. 1875 FAVRE, 2:228.

Also 1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:285; 1893 KLINKERT, p. 314.

ديواتا *diwata*, een soort van godin; *boeroeng diwata*, paradijsvogel.

1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 116.

The Malay name būrung dēwāta is reflected in Pigafetta's account as *bolon dinata* [*diuata* = *divata*]. (Hakluyt soc. 1874, p. 143. Y.)

The word dēwāta, which occurs in the two names mentiond, is found in most of the languages of the Archipelago, in the senses 'divinity,' 'deity,' 'a god,' 'the gods,' Malay ديوات dēwāta, Achinese *diwata*, Batak *dêbata*, Javanese *dewata*, Sundanese *dewata*, Balinese *dêwatâ*, Macassar *rêwata*, Bugis *dêwata*, Sangi-Manganitu *dûwatah*. It is one of the conspicuous Hindu words in Malayan: Singhalese *dewata* (1830 CLOUGH, p.

286), Hindustani دیوتا देवता *devtā* (*deo'ta*, Fallon) a god, a divinity (1817 SHAKESPEAR, p. 409; 1879 FALLON, p. 669), from Sanskrit देवता *devátā*, divinity, a divinity, a god or idol (1891 CAPPELLER, p. 236), from देव *devá*, a god.

دیوات dēwāta, Hind. देवता, a term likewise applied to the above celestial beings [dēwa], but with this distinction, that the appellation of dēwa belongs to their personal nature, and dēwāta to their divine character, and accordingly the invocations and prayers (at least in Malayan poetry) are always addressed to them under the latter name...

1812 MARSDEN, *Dict. of the Malayan lang.*, p. 140.

دیوات dēwāta (S. देवता *dēvatā*), condition divine, divinité, déité, les dieux.... — مانوق *mānuḳ dēwāta*, l'oiseau de paradis. Jav. et Sund. . . . *dèwata*. Bat. . . . *débata*. Mak. . . . *réwata*. Bug. . . . *dèwata*.

1875 FAVRE, 1:849.

Dewa, godheid, hindoe-godheid . . . Dewata (ook Djawata) = Dewa. 1895 MAYER, p. 74.

. . . [*dewa*] N. K. un dieu, une divinité, essence divine.... . . . [*dewata*] et . . . [*jawata*] une divinité du second ordre.

1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 182.

Dèwata, a heathen god, a deity; sometimes a demon. *Dewata*, C[lough] 286, a god, a deity, any divine person.

1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 106.

. . . *rewâta*, bep. *rewatâya*, vnw. *rewatângkoe*, God, beschermengel, beschermgeest. Boeg. *dewâta* idem, Mal. en Jav. *dewâta*, Sanskr. *dêwatâ* en *dêwatya*, een godheid van den tweeden rang....

1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 463.

God, m. *dŭwātah*.

1860 RIEDEL, *Sangi-Manganitusch woordenlijstje*, p. 387.

A third Malay name occurs in the commercial language بورغ مات būrung māti, 'dead bird.' Most Malays see the bird of heaven only when it is dead. They buy and sell it dead; but they do not wear dead birds on their heads when they go to church. They ar not civilized.

Paradijsvogel | Maleisch boerong mati | Wokam *fanèn* | Oedjir *fanan* | Eli Ellat *manok woeloenoe* | Oorspronk *subsoeijar*.

1864 EIJBERGEN, *Korte woordenlijst van de taal der Aroe- en Keij- eilanden*, p. 565.

These are now all known in the Malay Archipelago as "Burong mati," or dead birds, indicating that the Malay traders never saw them alive. 1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 420.

A geographic name būrong Papūa, 'bird of Papua' (New Guinea and adjacent islands), occurs. I notice also with two Amboina names, *manu mahu* ('foreign bird') and *salawan*. There ar other Malayan names which I must pass by.

... Bûrong papûa....birds of Paradise. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 118.
Manu mahu, paradijsvogel (Ml. burong papua)—*salawan* (T. R. K.).
1864-65 A. VAN EKRIS, *Woordenlijst....Ambonsche eilanden*, p. 308.

Of the European forms of the word, the Italian *manucodiata* appeard in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

The Italians call it *Manu codiatas*....
1598 tr. LINSCHOTEN, p. 35. (See Eng. quotations.)
Manucodiáta, the Paradise-bird, which is said to have no feete.
1611 FLORIO. [Not in ed. 1598.]
[This entry immediately follows the entry "Manuche", for which see MAMUQUE.]
Manucodiáta, *Manúche*, a fine coloured bird in India....[etc.: see under MAMUQUE.] 1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano.
Manucodiata, l'vcello di Dio, l'oiseau de paradis.
1660 DUEZ, *Dittionario italiano & francese*, p. 513.

The word appears in Spanish apparently only as a recent reflection of scientific nomenclature.

Manucodiato, ta, adj. *Ornit.* Parecido al manucudio. *Manucodiatos*, s. m. pl. Familia de aves silvanas, cuyo tipo es el género manucodio.
1878 DOMINGUEZ, *Diccionario nacional ....de la lengua española*, p. 1142.

In Portuguese *manucodiata* has an extended use, being applied to a bird of the Brazils and to a constellation of the southern sky.

Manucodiáta, s. f. the bird of Paradise, a rare bird. *Manucodiata* (in the Brazils), a sort of bird called *jubiru guaca*, by the natives. *Manucodiata*, a southern constellation of eleven stars. It has been but lately discovered. 1861 VIEYRA, *Dict. of the Eng. and Port. lang.* (Lisbon), 2:461. (Sim. 1893 Michaelis.)

In English text the word is first cited as Italian:

In these Ilands [Moluccas] onlie is found the bird, which the Portingales call *Passaros de Sol*, that is Fowle of the Sunne, the Italians call it *Manu codiatas*, and the Latinists, *Paradiseas*, and by us called Paradice birdes, for ye beauty of their feathers which passe al other birds: these birds are never seene alive, but being dead they are found vpon the Iland; they flie, as it is said, alwaies into the Sunne, and kéepe themselues continually in the ayre....for they haue neither féet nor wings, but onely head and bodie, and the most part tayle....
1598 tr. LINSCHOTEN, *Discours of voyages* (Hakluyt soc. 1885), 1:118.
The Birds of Paradise (saith this Author) haue two feet, as well as other Birds; but as soone as they are taken, they are cut off, with a great part of their body, whereof a little is left with the head and necke, which being hardned and dried in the Sunne, seeme to be so

bred. The Moores made the Ilanders beleeue that they came out of Paradise, and therefore call them *Manucodiata*, or holie Birds, and haue them in religious accompt: They are very beautifull, with variety of fethers and colours. 1613 PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, p. 452.

Cockeram did not fail to include this remarkable bird in his menagerie of wonders, along with the "Griffin, a foure-footed Bird, being very fierce," the "Harpies, monstrous deuouring Birds," and the "Phœnix, the rarest bird in the world."

Manucadite, the Bird of Paradise. 1626 COCKERAM, *The English dictionarie; or, an interpreter of hard English words*, third part.

The male and female *Manucordiatae*, the male having a hollow in the back, in which 'tis reported the female both layes and hatches her eggs. 1645 EVELYN, *Diary*, Feb. 4. (Y.)

As for the story of the *Manucodiata* or Bird of Paradise, which in the former Age was generally received and accepted for true, even by the Learned, it is now discovered to be a fable, and rejected and exploded by all men [i. e. that it has no feet].

1691 RAY, *Wisdom of God manifested in the works of the creation* (1692), pt. 2: 147. (Y.)

Paradisæa, in zoology, a name used by some authors for the bird *manucodiata*. 1728–81 CHAMBERS, *Cyclopœdia*. (Jodrell 1820.)

See other quotations in Jodrell, s. v.

To *manucodiata* is ultimately due the word *manucode*, a book-name for a group of birds of paradise which some would separate from the family. See Newton, in *Encyc. Brit.* (1883), 15: 504; *Dict. of birds*, p. 534–5.

Mias, the orang-utan of Borneo.

The word *mias*, as the nativ name in one region of Borneo for the animal long known in English as the orang-utan or orang-outang, seems to hav enterd into English use for the first time in the "Journal" of James Brooke, the rajah of Sarawak, as cited below. The "Journal" was publisht in 1848. The passages quoted wer written in 1840. Beyond a few casual mentions of *mias*, apparently based on Brooke's use (1856 Crawfurd, 1862 Rigg, quoted below), I find no other use of *mias* in English until Wallace, in 1869, in his work "The Malay Archipelago" gave it a permanent standing in literature.

It is clear from Brooke's general way of writing nativ words, that he meant *mias* to be pronounced according to English analogies, that is, to rime with *bias*. I inferd from Wallace's work that he used *mias* to represent the same pronunciation; and he has recently favord me with a note confirming this inference.

Mias then is pronounced mai'as, and answers to a Malayan or Bornean form which would be strictly transliterated *maias* or *mayas*. I find in my Malay or Malayan dictionaries just one

entry of this form, namely, Malay مايس māias or māyas, in Dutch manner mājas, given as a word used on the north coast of Borneo, equivalent to the better-known term māwas used elsewhere as shown below.

مايس mājas, N. kust Borneo: māwas (ōrang œ̄tan).—(T[uuk].) 1884 WALL and TUUK, 3:118.

This maias is but a Malay reflex of the Dayak name, of which I find mention in two vocabularies printed in an important compilation concerning Sarawak and British North Borneo, which has just been publisht, after all these pages ar in type, and nearly all closed to additions. It will be seen that one entry givs the nominal English form also as *maias:*

Monkey (orang-utan), Dayak *maias.*

1861 CHALMERS, *Vocab. of Eng. and Sarawak Dayaks*, in Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 1896, 2: App. p. 144.

Malay (colloquial) maias, English *maias*, Kanowit *kujuh*, Kyan *hirang utan*, Bintulu *maias.*

*a.*1887 H. B. LOW, *Vocabularies*, in Roth, *op. cit.*, 2: App. p. 63.

In Hardeland's Dayak dictionary (1859) no form like *maias* or *mias* or *māwas* appears. The name there given for the orang-utan is *kahio* (p. 203). A smaller species is cald *kalawet* (p. 213).

Crawfurd (1852) givs "miyas" as "the Bornean name of the orang-utan," and Favre (1875) givs in the list of forms under māwas the "Dayak *mias.*" But I suspect Crawfurd's miyas and Favre's mias to be spurious forms, due to inadvertence in reversing the English *mias* of Brooke into the nativ original.

Māias or māyas, as the Dayak name on the north coast of Borneo, may be a purely local name not related to any other term, or it may be, as Tuuk assumes, an other form of the widely known term māwas, which is found in all the recent Malay dictionaries, but not before 1863.

ماوس mawas, de orang-oetan. (Bat[aksch] id.)

1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 218.

ماوس māwas, l'orang-outang. دو ايكر ماوس يڠ دنماءى اوله اورڠ ڤوته اورڠ هوتن dūa īkor māwas yang di-namā-i ūleh ōrang pūtih ōrang hūtan, deux mawas que les Européens nomment orang-outang (H. Ab. 85). Bat. . . . *mawas.* Day. *mias.*

1875 FAVRE, 2:323.

Also 1884 WALL and TUUK 3:117; 1893 KLINKERT, p. 657.

Mâ'wa or mâ'was (the ape usually called "orang-utan").

1895 FOKKER, *Malay phonetics*, p. 60.

Beside the form māwas there is an other form cited, māwa. (See last quotation; 1884 Wall and Tuuk, 3:117.)

In Achin the orang-utan is cald *manos.* We may allow the variation.

مانوس *manos*, de orang oetan.
1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 253.

There is a different word mīā, miyā, ميا, applied to an other species of ape, or used as a general name. It occurs as mea in Haex (1631), and runs through all the dictionaries.

The history of *mias* in English use begins, as I hav said, with the "Journal" of Rajah Brooke, in the portion written in 1840. The quotations follow. It is to be noted that Brooke's "Journal" is discontinuous and fragmentary, and often refers, in a casual and familiar way, to words and things which hav not before been mentiond and ar nowhere explaind.

Brooke's first mention of *mias* is in the following quotation, where the word is abruptly introduced as a synonym for what is previously cald (p. 213, 218) *orang-outang:*

While lazily awaiting the report of our Dyaks who were detached in search of the *mias*, we fell in with a party of Balows.
1840 BROOKE, *Journal*, in Mundy, *Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes* (1848), 1:220.

In the next mention, and in one further on (p. 226), the word is used unchanged as a plural:

After our interview with the Balow other *mias* were discovered.
1840 *Id.*, p. 221.

They fell the isolated tree, and the *mias*, confused, entangled, is beset by his pursuers, noosed, forked down, and made captive.
1840 *Id.*, p. 226.

I further learn from the natives that at the full of the moon the *mias* roams a great deal, but at the time of new moon they are sluggish, and remain stationary in their nests....In the fruit season, which here commences about November, the *mias* are found close round the habitations of men, but at other seasons they retire more into the forest, and, from the appearance of their teeth, they must live on hard-rinded fruits.
1840 *Id.*, p. 226. (Other instances on p. 225, 227, 229.)

Brooke speaks of "two distinct species" of the mias, the *mias pappan*, which he also calls simply *pappan*, and the **mias rembi*, which he calls only *rembi.* As with *mias*, he uses the terms without previous explanation, as if they wer well known.

It must be borne in mind, however, that I have not seen the largest *mias pappan.* 1840 *Id.*, p. 225.

The *mias*, both *pappan* and *rembi* (I assume the distinction), have nests or houses in the trees formed by twisted leaves and twigs, and resembling a rook's nest in everything but size. 1840 *Id.*, p. 226.

The next mention of *mias*, in an English context, which I hav noted, is in Crawfurd's gazetteer of the Archipelago (1856), p. 315. It probably refers to Brooke's use.

The next is in Rigg (1862), p. 328, who takes it from Brooke.

It was Mr. Wallace, as I hav said, who gave *mias* a standing in English. He met the mias, beast and word, on the Simunjon river, not far from Sarawak, on the northwest coast of Borneo, on the 21st of March, 1855. I cite his first mention of the word, and some other instances.

In all these objects I succeeded beyond my expectations, and will now give some account of my experience in hunting the Orang-utan, or "*Mias*" as it is called by the natives [of Borneo]; and as this name is short, and easily pronounced, I shall generally use it in preference to Simia satyrus, or Orang-utan.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 30–31.

And he was a giant, his head and body being full as large as a man's. He was of the kind called by the Dyaks "*Mias* Chappan," or "*Mias* Pappan," which has the skin of the face broadened out to a ridge or fold at each side. 1869 *Id.*, p. 37.

The very day after my arrival in this place, I was so fortunate as to shoot another adult male of the small Orang, the *Mias-kassir* of the Dyaks. 1869 *Id.*, p. 42.

In the Sádong, where I observed it, the *Mias* is only found where the country is low, level, and swampy, and at the same time covered with a lofty virgin forest. 1869 *Id.*, p. 44.

It is a singular and very interesting sight to watch a *Mias* making his way leisurely through the forest. He walks deliberately along some of the larger branches, in the semi-erect attitude which the great length of his arms and the shortness of his legs cause him naturally to assume; and the disproportion between these limbs is increased by his walking on his knuckles, not on the palm of the hand; as we should do. 1869 *Id.*, p. 45.

He said: "The *Mias* has no enemies; no animals dare attack it but the crocodile and the python. He always kills the crocodile by main strength, standing upon it, pulling open its jaws, and ripping up its throat." 1869 *Id.*, p. 47. (Other instances on every page from 31 to 46.)

Johore....it is in its wild forests and inland mountains that we meet with a type of man by far the most primitive that these regions have to show. These are the Jacoons, who, like the Orang-utan, or *Mias* of Borneo, are reported to dwell in trees.

1875 THOMSON, *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China*, p. 78.

The familiar name for the ape [*orang-utan*] is of Malay origin, and means 'wild man of the woods,' but to the Dyaks the orang is known as the *Mias*. 1884–88 *Riverside nat. hist.*, 5:523.

The term *Mias*, which is the Dyak name for the Orang utan of the Malays, in that part of Borneo to the N. E. of the Sarawak River (where it is most abundant and best known) is pronounced exactly as the English terms *bias* and *lias*. 1896 WALLACE, *Letter*, July 10.

Nory, a parrot of the Eastern islands cald also, and now exclusivly, *lory*, from an other form of the same original Malayan word. See LORY.

The form *nory*, in the spelling *nori* (in plural *noris*), **nury*, **noory*, *newry* (with plural *newries*), and once *noyra*, in plural *noyras*, appears in English records in the latter end of the sixteenth century, much earlier than *lory*, but it has hitherto faild of due entry in English dictionaries. It comes through Portuguese, Italian, or New Latin. The New Latin **norus*, in accusativ plural *noros*, is found before the middle of the fifteenth century (*c.* 1430); New Latin also *noyra* (1601); Port. **nura*, pl. *nure* (1516 Barbosa), *noyra* (15 . .), *nore* (1878 Vieyra); Italian *nuro* (1598); Dutch *noeri*.

The Malay original is نوري nūrī, nūri, written sometimes نور nūri. It is also transcribed nori (1631, 1833, 1882, etc.). The English forms **nury*, **noory*, *newry* rest on nūrī; the forms *nory*, *nori*, on nori, which is rather the Javanese form. The related forms ar Achinese *nuri* (Langen), *nori* (Dias), Javanese *nori*, Balinese *nori*, Bugis *nori*, Macassar *nori*, also *nuri;* beside the forms named under LORY, namely, Malay لوري lūri, Jav. and Sund. *luri*, Sangi-Manganitu *lurin*. Raffles and Favre cite a Sundanese *nori*, but Rigg givs only *luri*.

Nori. Psittacus. 1631 HAEX, *Dictionarium Malaico-Latinum*, p. 31.

Psittacus. Nori. 1631 HAEX, *Dictionarium Latino-Malaicum*, p. 55.

نوري nūrī the lury, a beautiful bird of the parrot kind brought from the Moluccas. Būrong nūrī īang pandei ber-kāta-kāta a lury expert at talking. Hakāyat būrong nūri the tales of a parrot. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 350.

نوري noerie de loerie, een fraaije vogel. 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 401.

Nuri (J. *nori*). The loory parrot: a parrot. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 121.

نوري noeri, eene papegaai-soort uit de Molukken, de lorrie. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 226.

نوري nūri, perroquet des îles Moluques; et aussi, perroquet en général....Jav. et Sund. . . . *nori* et . . . *luri*. Mak. . . . *nuri* et . . .*nori*. 1875 FAVRE, 1:904.

Bûrong nuri بورغ نوري a parrot. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:23.

[*Nūri* alone, and *Luri*, not in.]

نور nōeri, naam eener soort van papegaai. 1884 WALL and TUUK, 3:217.

نوري noeri, papegaai. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 688.

Noeri (Boeroeng noeri), de roode papegaai. 1895 MAYER, p. 175.

Nori [D.] nori. 1879 DIAS, *Lijst van Atjehsche woorden*, p. 158.

نوري noeri, een soort van papegaai. 1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 273.

Bikkers 1882 givs no Achinese equivalent to what he enters as Malay norî.

Noerri, A. roode papegaai. 1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Javaansch en Nederduitsch woordenboek*, p. 450.

The form "noerri" corresponds to "loerri," p. 312 (see LORY). The correct Javanese form is *nori*.

. . . [*nori*] N. K. perroquet. 1870 FAVRE, *Dict. jav.-français*, p. 73.

Red parrot | Maláyu núri | Javan — Jáwa *nóri*, Sunda *nóri* | Madurese — Madúra *nóre*, Sumenáp *múri* | Bali *nóri* | Lampung *núghi*. 1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java*, 2: App. p. 90.

. . . *nôri*, bep. *norîya*, eene loeri, soort van papegaai. Jav. idem, Mal., Sund. noeri. — *Nôri-Sérang*, noeri van Ceram; *noeri-Papoewa*, noeri van Papoewa; *noeri-Toedôre*, noeri van Tidore; *noeri-Taranâti*, noeri van Ternate; en *noeri-Bâtjang*, noeri van Batchian, soorten van noeri. 1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 376.

. . . *noeri*, bep. *noerîya=nôri*. 1859 *Id. ib.*

Parrot . . . *nuri*, nori. 1833 [THOMSEN], *Vocab. Eng. Bugis and Malay lang.*, p. 24.

The earliest mention of the nory, in a European language, is in Poggio, whose statement, as given by Conti and recently translated, is as follows:

In Bandan three kinds of parrot are found, some with red feathers and a yellow beak, and some parti-coloured which are called *Nori*, that is brilliant.

c. 1430 Conti, tr. in *India in the XVI. Cent.* (18 . .), p. 17. (Y.)

The last words, in Poggio's original Latin, are: "quos *Noros* appellant hoc est lucidos," showing that Conti connected the word with the Pers. *nūr*="lux." 1886 YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 398.

The word appears in Italian dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as *nuro*. So Florio:

Nuro, a bird in Samatra like a poppingiay, but of fairer colour, and fpeaketh more plaine. 1598 FLORIO.

In his next edition, perhaps by accident, but perhaps in consequence of the hatred for definit statement which characterized the time, he omits the mention of place, and flies his bird all in the vast and wandering air. Parrots might "speak plain," but not the "resolute John Florio."

Núro, a birde of a fairer colour then a Poping-iay and fpeaketh more plaine. 1611 FLORIO.

Núro, a bird of fairer colour than a Popiniaye, and speaketh more plainly. 1659 FLORIO, ed. Torriano.

Nore, sm. a sort of parrot. 1878 VIEYRA, *Novo dicc. portatil das linguas Portugueza e Ingleza*, 1:534.

The first English mention, is, as usual, in a translation from an other language.

There are hogs also with hornes, and parats which prattle much which they call *noris.*

1601 tr. Galvano (1555), *Account of the Discoveries of the World* (Hakluyt (1807), 4:424). (Y. p. 398.)

As for fowles, they haue abundance of Parrots, & *Noyras*, more pleasing in beautie, speech and other delights then the Parrot, but cannot be brought out of that countrey aliue.

1613 PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 429–430.

....Cockatooas and *Newries* from Bantam.

1698 FRYER, *New account of East India and Persia*, p. 116. (Y.)

Brought ashore from the Resolution....a *Newry* and four yards of broad cloth for a present to the Havildar.

1698 In WHEELER, *Madras in the olden time* (1861), 1:333. (Y.)

Ongka. See UNGKA.

Orang, the same as ORANG-UTAN, which see.

Orang is a purely English reduction of the proper term *orang-utan*, arising from a vague notion that *orang-* in this term is the essential element.

Finally in regard to the geographical distribution of the higher quadrumana, I would contrast the peculiarly limited range of *orangs* and chimpanzees with the cosmopolitan character of mankind. The two species of *orang*, pithecus, are confined to Borneo, and Sumatra; the two species of chimpanzee, troglodytes, are limited to an intertropical tract of the western part of Africa.

18 . . OWEN, *On the gorilla*, p. 52 (in Latham 1882, s. v. "*orang* or *órang útan*").

This mode of progression was, however, very unusual, and is more characteristic of the Hylobates than of the *Orang.*

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 31. (An other ex. p. 38.)

It may be safely stated, however, that the *Orang* never walks erect, unless when using its hands to support itself by branches overhead or when attacked. Representations of its walking with a stick are entirely imaginary. 1869 *Id.*, p. 46.

On the whole, therefore, I think it will be allowed, that up to this time we have not the least reliable evidence of the existence of *Orangs* in Borneo more than 4 feet 2 inches high. 1869 *Id.*, p. 49.

The height of the *orang's* cerebrum in front is greater in proportion than in either the chimpanzee or the gorilla.

1889 WALLACE, *Darwinism*, p. 452.

Orang-utan, the celebrated ape of Borneo and Sumatra, *Simia satyrus.*

This pleasing creature, without any effort on his part, has made a name for himself throughout the world. He has been known in English since the seventeenth century as *orang-outang*,

orang-otang, *ourang-outang*, *ouran-outang*, *oran-outang*, and now more accurately, *orang-utan*, and has recently vindicated his more local name MIAS, which has been set forth in a previous article. He appears under his old name in all the great languages of Europe; French *orang-outang*, and, mostly from English or French, Spanish *orang-utan*, *orang-outang*, Portuguese *orang-otango*, Catalan *orangutá*, Italian *orangotan*, Dutch *orang-œtan*, German *orang-utang*, Swedish and Danish *orangutang*, Russian *orangutangŭ*, etc. The form *orang-outang* for *orang-outan*, *-utan* shows the English tendency to make compound names of outland origin rime within themselves, if the parts hav any suggestiv similarity.

The original Malay form of the name is اورغ اوتن ōrang ūtan, or اورغ هوتن ōrang hūtan, man of the woods' or 'of the forest' or 'of the bush' or 'of the wilderness,' that is 'bush-man'; or, giving ūtan an adjectiv force, 'wild man.' The term is in common Malay use in its literal sense to designate a human being who livs in the woods, a wild man, a savage. Indeed it means just the same thing as *savage*—Latin *silvaticus*, sc. *homo*, 'man of the woods.'

The special application to the silvan and arborèal anthropoid is not to be regarded as poetic or scientific. It is no doubt merely a simple "nativ" name. The Malays who saw these creatures thought they wer real "wild men," and cald them so. It is a long way from this nativ simplicity to the lately attaind scientific satisfaction reflected in the almost synonymous name "anthropoid."

But this particular application of ōrang ūtan to the ape does not appear to be, or ever to hav been, familiar to the Malays generally. Crawfurd (1852) and Swettenham (1887) omit it, Pijnappel says it is "Low Malay," and Klinkert (1893) denies the use entirely. This uncertainty is explaind by the limited area in which the animal exists within even nativ observation. Mr. Wallace could find no nativs in Sumatra who "had ever heard of such an animal," and no "Dutch officials who knew anything about it." Then the name came to European knowledge more than two hundred and sixty years ago; in which time probably more than one Malay name has faded out of general use or wholly disappeard, and many other things hav happend.

Orang ūtan, the wild man, a species of ape.

1812 MARSDEN, p. 22.

Orang ūtan, the wild man, or man of the woods; a name given to different species of the ape. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 364.

هوتن hoetan en oetan woud, bosch, wildernis ... Orang oetan een boschmensch, iemand die in de natuurstaat leeft, zoo als sommige volken in de woeste streken van Trangganoe welke ôrang oetan genaamd worden; ôrang oetan noemt men den aap, die veel naar den mensch gelijkt en op Borneo gevonden wordt.

1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 411.

Orang-ūtan is not in Crawfurd 1852 in this sense ('ape'), but he uses it in his definition of *miyas*. See MIAS.

اورغ orang, mensch . . . — oetan, een wilde; in 't laag-mal. = mawas, eene bekende soort van aap. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 19.

اورغ ōrang, homme, personne, gens.... هوتن — ōrang hūtan, un sauvage, un orang-outang. 1875 FAVRE, 1:36.

هوتن hūtan, bois, forêt: inculte, sauvage. . . . — اورغ ōrang hūtan, l'homme sauvage, ou l'homme des bois, l'orang-outang. 1875 FAVRE, 1:179.

اورغ ōrang, persoon; individu (ook van dieren); mensch . . . o. oetan, boschmensch; wilde: zekere bekende apensoort (z. mawas, T). 1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:139.

Orang utan, Orang-utan. [Note:] A large monkey resembling man. 1887 LIM HIONG SENG, *Manual of the Malay colloquial*, 1:128.

Orang-oetan, een boschenmensch, wilde, ook benaming van een groote apensoort. 1895 MAYER, p. 183.

Some dictionaries enter ōrang-ūtan only in its literal use.

Orâng-utan. A wild man, a savage; a rustic, a clown; literally, "man of the woods or forest." 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 122.

Ôrang ûtan اورغ اوتن wild tribes. 1881 SWETTENHAM, 2:76.

هوتن hoetan, bosch, wildernis; wild; orang hoetan, een wilde, boschbewoner. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 705.

اورغ orang, persoon, individu, man, mensch . . . orang hoetan, een wilde boschbewoner, doch geen soort van aap. 1893 *Id.*, p. 58.

The name ōrang ūtan is found, as a foreign term, in Sundanese:

Orang utan, words which in Malay imply, "wild man of the woods" —Simia Satyrus, is the name of a large monkey found on Borneo, and only seen in Java as a curiosity. On the north coast of Borneo they are called *Mias*. 1862 RIGG, p. 328.

[See full quot. under MIAS.]

The earliest European mention of the name *orang-utan*, occurs, in the spelling *ourang-outang*, in the New Latin of Bontius (1631). He mentions the belief of the "Javans," meaning rather the Malays, that the orang-utans can talk, but that they will not talk, lest they should be compeld to work. Sagacious creatures! yet short of that Occidental wisdom which prompts many men to talk, and thereby avoid work.

Loqui vero eos easque posse Iavani aiunt, sed non velle, ne ad labores cogantur; ridicule mehercules. Nomen ei induunt *Ourang Outang*, quod hominem silvae significat.

1631 BONTIUS, *Hist. nat. et med.*, v. cap. 32, p. 85. (Y. p. 491.

The earliest English use I hav noted is in 1699.

Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or the Anatomy of a Pygmie compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man....

1699 E. TYSON [title].

Dr. Tyson's Anatomy of the *Orang-Outang*, or Pygmie.

1701 RAY, *Creation*, 2:232. (S. D.)

You look like a cousin-german of *Ourang Outang*.

1748 SMOLLETT, *Roderick Random*, ch. 14 (wks. 1811, 1:76). (S. D.)

I have one slave more, who was given me in a present by the Sultan of Pontiana.... This Gentleman is Lord Monboddo's genuine *Orang-outang*, which in the Malay language signifies literally wild man.... Some people think seriously that the *oran-outang* was the original patriarch and progenitor of the whole Malay race.

1811 LORD MINTO, *Diary in India*, p. 268–9. (Y.)

See other quotations, 1727, 1783, 1801, etc., in Yule.

We had not proceeded, however, above ten minutes before an *orang-outang* was descried seated amid the branches of a high tree on the banks of the stream.

1840 BROOKE, *Journal*, in Mundy, *Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes* (1848), 1:218. (Also 1:213.)

Of course Wallace, the eminent author of "The Malay Archipelago, the land of the orang-utan and the bird of paradise," has much to say of this important man of the woods, though, as before said, he prefers to call him *mias*.

One of my chief objects in coming to stay at Simunjon was to see the *Orang-utan* (or great man-like ape of Borneo) in his native haunts, to study his habits, and obtain good specimens of the different varieties and species of both sexes, and of the adult and young animals.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 30.

The *Orang-utan* is known to inhabit Sumatra and Borneo, and there is every reason to believe that it is confined to these great islands, in the former of which, however, it seems to be much more rare. In Borneo it has a wide range, inhabiting many districts on the south-west, south-east, north-east, and north-west coasts, but appears to be chiefly confined to the low and swampy forests. 1869 *Id.*, p. 44.

As the *Orang-utan* is known to inhabit Sumatra, and was in fact first discovered there, I made many inquiries about it; but none of the natives had ever heard of such an animal, nor could I find any of the Dutch officials who knew anything about it. 1869 *Id.*, p. 103.

Ban-manas, n. m. A wild man of the woods (*jaṅglī-ādmī*); an orangoutang. 1879 FALLON, *Hind.-Eng. dict.*, p. 271.

Pangolin, the scaly ant-eater, *Manis*, of various species.

It is also written, more correctly, but less often, *pengolin*. The proper English form would be **pengoling*, pronounced peng-

gō'ling. The form *pangolin* follows the French *pangolin* of Buffon.

The Malay word is ڤڠكولڠ peng-gōling, transcribed also pĕng-gūling; Katingan *pengiling.* It means 'roller,' or, more literally, 'roll-up.' The word is formd from gōling, roll, wrap, with the denominativ prefix pe-, which takes before *g* the form peng-. The form "*pangūlang,*" in Yule (1886) and Webster (1890) is erroneous.

ڤڠكولڠ peng-gōling a roller; that which rolls up, or, on which a thing is rolled up. (Vid. كولڠ gōling.) The pangolin, an animal which has its name from the faculty of rolling itself up: of these the Malays distinguish two kinds, the peng-gōling rambut or hairy (myrmophaga), and the peng-gōling sīsik or scaly, called properly تڠكيليڠ tanggīlĭng (manis). 1812 MARSDEN, p. 225.

ڤڠكولڠ peng-gôling een roller . . . Een dier dat zich oprolt. Peng-gôling rambot de harige pangolin (myrmophaga). Péng-gôling siesikh de fchubbige pengolin, gewoonlijk tang-gieling genaamd. 1815 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 271.

Pângguling (guling). A roller; the pangolin or ant-eater, Manis javanica; v. Tânggiling and Trânggiling. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 134.

ڤڠكولڠ peng-gūling, qui roule ou sert à rouler, nom d'un squamifère (*manis javanicus*), ainsi nommé à cause de la manière dont il se roule. v. تڠكيلڠ tang-gīling. 1875 FAVRE, 1:420.

Maleisch peng-goeling, Sampitsch *tengiling,* Katingansch *pengiling,* rol, een soort van dier, geschubde mĭereneter. 1872 TIEDTKE, *Woordenlijst,* p. 54.

Compare Lampong *peng-gūlang,* echo ('what is rolled back').

Penggoelang, echo. 1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch....wrdnlijst,* p. 25.

English use begins with Pennant and Goldsmith.

Le *Pangolin* de Buffon X. 180, tab. xxiv. . . . M[anis].... Inhabits the iflands of India, and that of Formofa. The Indians call it *Pangoelling;* and the Chinefe, *Chin Chion Seick.*

Feeds on lizards and infects: turns up the ground with its nofe: walks with its claws bent under its feet: grows very fat: is efteemed very delicate eating: makes no noife, only a fnorting. 1771 PENNANT, *Synopsis of quadrupeds,* p. 329.

The *pangolin,* which has been usually called the scaly lizard, Mr. Buffon very judiciously restores to that denomination, by which it is

known in the countries where it is found. The *pangolin*, which is a native of the torrid climates of the ancient continent, is of all other animals the best protected from external injury by nature; it is about three or four feet long, or taking in the tail from six to eight.

1774 GOLDSMITH, *Hist. of the earth* (1790), 4:118, 119. (Jodrell, 1820.)

On the *pangolin* of Bahar . . . This fingular animal, which M. Buffon defcribes by the name of Pangolin, is well known in Europe fince the publication of his Natural History and Goldsmith's elegant abridgement of it....[A description follows, with a cut of "the Vajracita."]

1789 SIR W. JONES, *Works* (1807), 4:356.

A fine young manis or *pangolin*. *a.* 1794 *Id.*, 2:305.

V. Edentata. *Pengolin.*—Of the *Edentata* the only example in Ceylon is the scaly ant-eater, called by the Singhalese, *Caballaya*, but usually known by its Malay name of *Pengolin*, a word indicative of its faculty, when alarmed, of "rolling itself up" into a compact ball, by bending its head towards its stomach, arching its back into a circle, and securing all by a powerful fold of its mail-covered tail....Of two specimens which I kept alive at different times, one about two feet in length, from the vicinity of Kandy, was a gentle and affectionate creature, which, after wandering over the house in search of ants, would attract attention to its wants by climbing up my knee, laying hold of my leg with its prehensile tail. The other, more than double that length, was caught in the jungle near Chilaw, and brought to me in Colombo. 1860 TENNENT, *Sketches of the natural hist. of Ceylon*, p. 46, 47.

Of the habits of the *pengolin* I found that very little was known by the natives, who regard it with aversion, one name given to it being the "Negombo devil." 1860 *Id.*, p. 48.

. . . *Lin.* Strong, fierce, enduring; a name for the *pangolin*, and perhaps this character imitates the last syllable of its Javanese name *pangiling*. 1874 WILLIAMS, *Syllabic dict. of the Chinese lang.*, p. 541.

Civet-cats were very abundant; and the nocturnal scaly ant-eater or *pangolin* (Manis) was pretty often captured in the evening, while clumsily climbing on the trees, licking up with amazing rapidity streams of ants, which are its sole food—an interesting form especially to the embryologist and the genealogist, who find in its structures surviving "marks of ancientness," which have greatly helped to unravel the mammalian pedigree. 1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 115.

Pomali, a Malayan name for the custom of superstitious interdict commonly known by the Polynesian term *tabu*.

The more correct spelling would be rather *pamali* or *pemali*. The Malay form is ڤمالي pĕmāli, pamāli, 'forbidden, interdicted, unlawful, tabu.' It is found in many forms: Achinese *pĕmalui*, Bat. *hubali* (Kruyt), *kĕmali* (Pijnappel), Sundanese *pamali*, Balinese *pĕmali*, Dayak *pali*, Macassar *kassipalli*, Bugis

pemali, Bareë (Celebes) *pali*, *kapali*, Sangir *pělli*. See other forms below. The "root" appears to be *pali*.

Pâmali. An evil omen, a portent; ominous, portentous, inauspicious. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 130.

Pâmali (BAT). Bad, vicious, corrupt. This word is probably the same with the last. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 130.

ڤمالي *pĕmali*, verboden, ongeoorloofd. (Boeg. *id.* Daj. *pali*. Bat. *kĕmali*. Mak. *kasipalli*.) 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 161.

ڤمالي *pĕmali*, soms gebruikt in vereeniging met pantang. Zie ald....Pantang; — dan larangan, onthoudingen en verboden dingen: bĕrpantang, Hang T[oewah]. Pantang pĕmali, verboden en ongeoorloofd. Sj. Ibr. b. Chas. 1869 KLINKERT, p. 172.

ڤمالى pĕmāli, illicite, défendu....Mak. . . . *kasipalli*. Day. *pali*. 1875 FAVRE, 2:111.

ڤمال pĕmali, wat eenig kwaad ten gevolge heeft, hetzij eene handeling, of het nalaten eener handeling; sāla p., huiduitslag, ten gevolge van nadeelige invloeden, waaraan men zich heeft blootgesteld, waaronder ook gerekend wordt het nuttigen van nadeelige spijzen of dranken. 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:430.

ڤمالي pĕmali, door het gebruik verboden, ongoorloofd, onder verbod liggend. Soms in vereeniging met pantang, zie ald. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 469.

Pĕmali, verboden, ongeoorloofd, onder verbod liggend, wat als ongeoorloofd en onheilaanbrengend verboden is. 1895 MAYER, p. 192.

ڤمالوى *pĕmaloi*, verboden, ongeoorloofd. 1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 186.

Pamali, forbidden by some moral feeling of wrong. Prohibited as unlucky. An interdict often superstitious, but respected for fear of incurring the displeasure of God or of some overruling power. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 338.

Pĕmali de vloek, die op eenig werk rust, verricht op een dag waarop zulks verboden is: *pĕmalihan* door straf van boven bezocht worden. 1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 241.

Pali, unerlaubt, verboten, unglückbringend; was man nicht thun, essen, etc. mag, weil man sich sonst Unglück zuziehen würde.... *Pamali*, der oft, alles für unerlaubt halt, etc.... 1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*, p. 402.

. . . *Kassipâlli*, bep. *kassipalliya*, ='t Boeg. *pemâli*, ='t Arab. مكروه gebezigd van iedere daad, die naar de heerschende denkbeelden onder de Inlanders verkeerd is, en gewoonlijk nadeelige gevolgen na zich sleept. Zoo noemen zij bijvoorb. *kassipâlli:* het vertrappen van eten, het loopen in de zon op het midden van den dag, het dooden van eenig dier in een huis waar een kind is van beneden de 40 dagen. (Tar.) 1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 65.

Pali....Kapali, ongeoorloofd, verboden: *morapopâlika*, iets verbieden, als ongeoorloofd aangeven; *rapopalika*, verboden zijn van iets. NB. Sang. *pělli*, Day. *pali*, Mak. *palli*, Bug. *pemali*, Mal. Sund. pamali, Bat. *hubali*. 1894 KRUYT, *Woordenlijst van de Bareĕtaal*, p. 51.

A custom of such a nature as tabu would reach the most ignorant and childish minds; and the words associated with it would all the more easily suffer alteration. All these varied forms occur within the Amboina group of islands:

Mamori, gewijd (Ml. pamali)—*momori* (H. W. K.) — *momoli* (P.) — *momodi* (A.) — *tamori* (T. R.) — *ori* (Kr.).

1864–65 A. VAN EKRIS, *Woordenlijst....Ambonsche eilanden*, p. 306.

Taking these forms together, in the series *pamali*, *pemali*, *pomali*, *momoli*, *momodi*, *momori*, *mamori*, *tamori*, *ori*, and noting the initial relations p:m, and p:t, and the medial relations p:m, p:b, it is difficult to resist the comparison of the form *tamori* with the Polynesian *tabu*, *tapu*, of which other forms ar *tambu*, *tabui*, *tobui*, and *kapu*. See the forms in Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian comparative dictionary* (1891), p. 472, 473.

Wallace mentions the custom of pomali in Timor, and Forbes in Buru.

A prevalent custom [in Timor] is the "pomali," exactly equivalent to the "taboo" of the Pacific islanders, and equally respected. It is used on the commonest occasions, and a few palm leaves stuck outside a garden as a sign of the "pomali" will preserve its produce from thieves as effectually as the threatening notice of man-traps, spring guns, or a savage dog, would do with us.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 149.

The custom of "tabu," called here [in Timor] "pomáli," is very general, fruit trees, houses, crops, and property of all kinds being protected from depredation by this ceremony, the reverence for which is very great. 1869 *Id.*, p. 451.

Just at the summit I came on a curious *Pomali* sign set up in the forest to protect probably some part of it from depredation. Its exact meaning I could not find out. [A description follows.]

1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 400.

Their most dreaded and respected oath is made, holding the sharp top of a sago palm leaf in the hand, on the sacred knife and spear taken from the Matakau; for they believe in the power of these *pomali*-weapons to harm them at any unguarded moment. 1885 *Id.*, p. 395 (Buru).

I was not permitted to go into their fields, as strangers and coast people are tabooed, for fear of some evil befalling their *poomalied* [sic] seeds. 1885 *Id.*, p. 403 (Buru).

In Malay Archipelago the custom of *pomali* in many respects resembles *tapu*.

1891 TREGEAR, *Maori-Polynesian comparative dictionary*, p. 473.

Prau, a boat of the Malayan Archipelago.

The word has been in English use, with reference to Malayan waters, for 300 years, in many forms, partly intended for Malay,

and partly copied from the Spanish and Portuguese transliterations.

The English forms hav been *prau* (properly pronounced as written, in two syllables, prâ'u, but in English as one syllable, prau, riming nearly with *cow*), *praw*, and with the same pronunciation, *prow*, which was, however, also taken to rime with *crow*, and so was written also *proe;* while an other form reproduced the Spanish and Portuguese termination *-ao* as *-oa*, namely *proa* (compare *Curaçoa* for *Curaçao*, *Krakatoa* for *Krakatau*).

An other form, after the Spanish, was *parao*. In the present century the form *prahu*, in more exact transliteration of the Malay, is used beside *prau*.

The Malay form is پراهو prāhu, pĕrāhu, or with omission of the faint h, prāu, pĕrāu. The final vowel is sometimes omitted in writing, پراه prāhu, pĕrāhu. It is the common name for 'a boat' throughout the Archipelago; Achinese *prahu*, Javanese *prahu*, *parahu*, Sundanese *prahu*, Balinese *p'rahu*, *pedahu*, Dayak *prahu*, *prau*, *paraú*, Sampit *prahu*, Tidunga *padau*. There is a Chinese *pilau*, *pilu*, from the Malayan; whence again Malay pilau and pilang.

The word prau appears to be original in Malayan; but there ar similar words in Indian dialects which hav suggested a borrowing at one end or the other. Rigg cites the Singhalese "*parūwa*, a flat bottomed boat" (p. 380), and Yule the Malayālam "*pāṛu*, a boat" (p. 555).

پراو prāu a navigating vessel. (Vid. پرهو praū.)
1812 MARSDEN, p. 217.

پرهو praū and پراو prāu a general term for all vessels between the sampan or canoe, and the kapal or square rigged vessel: by Europeans it is usually applied to the کونتغ kūnting, rigged with the läyer tanja or oblique sail. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 222.

پراه prâuh, eene praauw. Indisch vaartuig. (zie prahu [not in.])
1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 259.

Prau (J). A boat or ship. It is the generic name for any kind of vessel; the castle at chess. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 143.

پراهو pĕrahoe, inlandsch vaartuig, vaartuig in het algemeen; p. bandoeng, groot vaartuig met slechts één groot vierkant zeil, en gebruikt tusschen de verschillende eilanden tot vervoer van brandhout, houtskool enz. met een laadruimte van 7 à 8 kojan. Zie verder voor de bijzondere soorten van prauwen op het bepalende woord.
1893 KLINKERT, p. 454.

Pĕrahoe (ook Prahoe of Perao e), inlandsch vaartuig, prauw.
1895 MAYER, p. 194.

Also in 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 156; 1875 FAVRE, 2:112; 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:406; 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:88.

Prahoe prauw *prahoe.*
1880 ARRIENS, *Maleisch-Hollandsch-Atjehsche woordenlijst*, p. 83.

ڤرهو *prahoe*, prauw, vaartuig in 't algemeen.
1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 182.
. . . [*prahu*] et . . . [*parahu*] N. barque, bateau, navire, bâtiment....
1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 349.
Prahu, a boat, a ship,—a general term for all vessels afloat.
1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 380.
Boat, barge . . . | Sunda *paráhu* | Madurese — Madúra *práho*, Súmenap *pdrau* | Báli *prau*, *práhu* | Lampung *peghâhu*.
1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java*, 2: App. 109.
P'rahoe L[aag-Bal.] (bahitâ en hedjong H[oog-Bal.]) een inlandsch vaartuig, boot, schuit....
1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 226.
Pĕdahoe een klein inlandsch vaartuigje waarvan men op binnenwateren gebruik maakt. 1876 *Id.*, p. 260.
Prau, *paraú*, *prahu*, der Name für alle Arten *kleiner* Schiffe.
1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*, p. 441.
Padaoe, prauw. 1885 AERNOUT, *Een woordenlijstje der Tidoengsche taal*, p. 547.
Maleisch prahoe Sampitsch *prahoe* Katingansch *aloer*, een vaartuig. 1872 TIEDTKE, *Woordenlijst*, p. 51.
ڤيلو pilau, Chin. uitspraak van pĕrahoe, Dul.
1893 KLINKERT, p. 490.
ڤيلغ pilang, e. s. v. platbodemd vaartuig; zie pilau.
1893 *Id.*, p. 489.

The word first appeard in European use in the Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian form *parao*. The Spanish form *parao* is in familiar use in the Philippine islands :

Parao (el).—Barque marine des indigènes, espèce de brick (Buzeta, II, p. 141), de 1 à 44 tonneaux, peut-être *Praue ?*
1882 BLUMENTRITT, *Vocab. de...l'espagnol des Philippines*, tr. Hugot (1884), p. 60.

From the Portuguese the form *parao* was taken into English, in an early translation :

Next daye....there came in two little *Paraos*.
1582 N. L[ITCHFIELD], tr. Castañeda [1551-1561], *The first booke of the historie of the discoverie and conquest of the East Indias*, fol. 62v. (Y.)

The word also appeard in Portuguese as *parò* (1606). From this, or from *parao*, came the English form *paro*, which had some run :

We left our boats or *Paroes*. 1599 HAKLUYT, *Voyages*, 2: 1: 258. (S. D.)
A little *Paro*, which is to say, a voyage Barke.
1625 PURCHAS, *Pilgrims*, 1: 10: 1725. (S. D.)

The most common form during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was *praw* (pronounced prau, and probably often prǫ́, riming with *raw*), also written *prow* (pronounced like *praw*, namely prau, but also, no dout, prō, riming with *crow*) and *proe* (after the last pronunciation mentiond).

An howre after this comming a board of the hollanders came a *prawe* or a canow from Bantam. 1606 *Middleton's voyage*, c. 3 (v). (Y.)

An hundred *Prawes* and Iunkes.
1625 PURCHAS, *Pilgrims*, 1:2:43. (S. D.)

The King sent a small *Prow*. 1625 *Id.*, 1:3:239. (S. D.)

They [the Dutch] have *Proes* of a particular neatness and curiosity. We call them Half-moon *Proes*, for they turn up so much at each end from the water that they much resemble a Half-moon with the horns upwards. 1729 DAMPIER, *Voyages*, 2:1:5. (C. D.)

The next morning while we were at anchor, a Malay *prow*, with about thirty men on board, mounted with swivels, was discovered at no great distance from us. 1835 WARRINER, *Cruise of the U. S. frigate Potomac*, 1831–34, p. 71.

See other quotations in Yule and the *Stanford dictionary*.

From the form *prow* or *proe*, associated with the Spanish and occasional English form *parao* on the one hand, and perhaps on the other hand with the different word *prow*, Spanish *proa* (L. *prora*), the bow of a vessel, arose the English form *proa*, which has been the accidentally "preferd" form in nineteenth-century dictionaries.

Próa, s. (Malay.) Boat of the Indian archipelago and parts of the Pacific; the most characteristic being that of the Marianne Islands, of which the lee-side is straight or longitudinal, while the windward is furnished with a sort of outrigging, which serves as a balance or a float.
1882 LATHAM.

Most travelers in the Eastern seas, and all precise writers, of the present century, use the precise Malay form *prau*, some with still greater precision *prahu*. *Prao* is also found.

The Chinese also have many brigs, besides their peculiar description of vessels called junks, as well as native-built *práhus*.
1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java*, 1:203.

No *práhu* or vessel was to carry any greater quantity of gunpowder and shot.... 1817 *Id.*, 1:218.

The large trading *praos* of the Macassars and Bugis, called padewakan.... 1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 3:427.

The *prahus* of the two rivers met at a given point.... The combined fleet is moderately stated at 201 *prahus*.
1844 BROOKE, *Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes* (1848), 1:364. (Also 1:152, etc.)

There were also a few square-rigged trading vessels, and twenty or thirty native *praus* of various sizes.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 162.

. . . I could really do so now, had I but courage to trust myself for a thousand miles' voyage in a Bugis *prau*, and for six or seven months among lawless traders and ferocious savages. 1869 *Id.*, p. 309.

Large Palembang *praus*, bright in scarlet or blue decorations, began to be met in little fleets, being laboriously poled up stream close under the banks out of the current.

1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 256.

If the women are not thus employed they are away by *prahu*, accompanied by some of the younger men, to fetch the necessary stores from their gardens. 1885 *Id.*, p. 314.

See also 1855 WILSON, *Gloss. of judicial and revenue terms*, p. 425; 1869 BICKMORE, p. 249; 1875 THOMSON, p. 54, etc.

Rattan, a well-known East Indian palm, of the genus *Calamus* and allied genera; also, and usually, the 'canes' or strips made from the stem of the palm, used for innumerable purposes.

The word is also speld *ratan*. The spelling *rattan* is more common, and is preferd perhaps as more exactly intimating the clear pronunciation of the first vowel—ră″-tăn′ or răt-tăn′, not ra-tăn′.

The accentuation appears to be due to the French. Other forms in English have been *rattoon* (implying an earlier form in French or English, **raton*), a word now differentiated; also *rotan, rotang, rottang*. *Rotan* represents precisely the Malay form; *rotang, rottang* follow the French *rotang*. The Dutch, Danish, and Swedish forms are *rotting*, apparently after the French *rotin* (which may be from the English *rotan*). The Spanish form is *rota*. It appears in an obsolete English reflex, *rota*.

The Malay form is روتن rōtan, Batak *hotang*, Javanese *rotan*, Kawi *latung*, Macassar *raukang*, Amboina *lotan*. It is explaind as a contraction of *rautan, 'that which is pared and trimd,' from rāut, Macassar *rāuk*, Bugis *dāu*, 'pare, trim with a knife.' The allusion is to the prepared form in which the rattan is used. The English word *strip*, 'a slender prepared piece of wood,' has an analogous etymology. The mode of cutting and stripping is described by Crawfurd, *Hist.* (1820), 3:423. See also quotations from Klinkert (1893) and Matthes (1859), below.

روتن rōtan the rattan cane, calamus rotang, L. [Etc.]

1812 MARSDEN, p. 152.

Rotan. The rattan, *Calamus rotang*. The root is probably the verb rawut, "to pare and trim," and the meaning, therefore, is, "the object pared and trimmed." In the Hortus Bogoriensis seven species of the rattan are described, with five that are doubtful.

1852 CRAWFURD, p. 154.

روتن rotan, rotting, rottingriet (voor raoetan, zie raoet. Mak. *raoekang.* Bat. *hotang.*) 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 124.

روتن rōtan, le rotang, le rotin. Les malais en connaissent un grand nombre de variétés.... Jav. . . . *rotan.* Bat. . . . *hotang.* Mak. . . . *raukang.* 1875 FAVRE, 2:441.

روتن rōtan (samentrekking van raoetan van raoet; even zoo in 't mak. *raoekang* van *ruoeq*, T.), naam eener rietsoort, die wij gew. rotting noemen—calamus rotang. mẹrōtan, rotting inzamelen, rotting snijden, in dien zin. 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:189.

روتن rotan, van raoet-an, zie raoet, rotting, rottingriet; soorten zijn [etc., etc.]. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 342.

راءوت raoet; mĕraoet, met een klein mes, pisau raoet, iets bewerken, de ruwe kanten afsnijden, iets besnijden; hiervan is afgeleid rotan, eigenl. raoetan, dat wat op die wijze besneden wordt of is; mĕraoet-raĭh, de rotan besnijden door ze naar zich toe te halen tusschen twee scherpe messen door. 1893 KLINKERT, p. 321.

Also in 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 179; 1869 KLINKERT, p. 122; 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:93: 1895 MAYER, p. 214.

. . . [*rotan*] le rotin: canne, bâton.
1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 109.

. . . [*latung*] Kw. [Kawi] rotang. 1870 *Id.*, p. 321.

. . . . . 3. *râoe*, eene rotting afschrappen, of afschaven, door die gedurig langs het lemmet van een groot mes, welks scherpe zijde geheel van onderen is, heen te halen. Boeg. *dâoe*, idem . . . *Raoekang*, rotting die op bovengemelde wijze afgeschrapt is; bindrotting. *Raoekang-rômang*, soort van bindrotting....
1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 466.

The Malays call it Rotan.... The Javanese call it *Pănjalin*, the Sundas *Kwoe*, the Bugis *Raokang* and the people of Ternati *Uri*.
1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of Indian Archipelago*, 1:446.

Bugis *raokang*, Macassar *raokang*. 1820 *Id.*, 2:159.

Lotan, rotting, ook rottingplant. (T. R.)
1864–65 A. VAN EKRIS, *Woordenlijst....Ambonsche eilanden*, p. 302.

In the earliest English mention, the form is *rota*, representing the Spanish *rota* for **rotan*. In occurs in a translation from the Dutch:

There is another sorte of the same réeds which they call *Rota:* these are thinne like twigges of Willow for baskets.
1598 tr. LINSCHOTEN, *Discours of voyages* (Hakluyt soc. 1885), 1:97.

The normal form *rotan* hardly occurs in English except as a more or less obvious citation of the Malay word. *Rotang* occurs occasionally.

جرنغ jaránang and jarnang dragon's blood, a resinous drug procured from a species of *rotan* or rattan-cane. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 102.

In the forests there is a great profusion of woody lianas, *rotangs*, and cissus varieties. 1881 *Encyc. Brit.*, 13:602, art. JAVA.

The form *rattan*, less often *ratan*, has been in use since the 17th century.

He was....disrobed of his bravery, and being clad in rags was chabuck't upon the soles of his feet with *rattans*.

1665 SIR T. HERBERT, *Travels* (1667), p. 90. (S. D.)

....the Materials Wood and Plaister, beautified without with folding Windows, made of Wood and latticed with *Rattans*....

1698 FRYER, *New account of East India*, p. 27. (Y.)

Rata'n, n. f. An Indian cane. 1755 JOHNSON.

The *Rattan* (Calamus Rotang, L.) may be considered as one of the most useful of the indigenous plants of the Indian islands.

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of Indian Archipelago*, 1:445.

Among the more characteristic forms of this flora are the *rattans*—climbing palms of the genus Calamus, and a great variety of tall as well as stemless palms.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 107. [See also p. 205.]

The chief feature of this forest was the abundance of *rattan* palms, hanging from the trees, and turning and twisting about on the ground, often in inextricable confusion. 1869 *Id.*, p. 206.

Rotan, Rotang. See RATTAN.

Sapi, the Malayan ox. Malay ساڤي sāpi, 'ox, bull, cow, cattle, especially wild cattle.'

Sapi is found also as sampi (from Balinese): Lampong *sapi*, Javanese and Sundanese *sapi*, Balinese *sampi*, Dayak *sapi*, Bugis *sapi* and *chapi*, Macassar *chapi*, Bareë *chapi*, *japi*.

Sapi. Taurus, vel vacca. 1631 HAEX, p. 40.

ساڤي sāpī, سڤي sapī, and سمڤي sampī, cattle, kine, oxen; beef. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 158.

Sapi ساڤي wild cattle. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:99.

Sampi (of Sapi), rund, koe.... 1895 MAYER, p. 218.

Sapi also in 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 161; 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 127; 1869 KLINKERT, p. 126; 1875 FAVRE, 2:602; 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:280.

Sapi, I. (Ab[oengsch], v. H.), rund.

1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 100.

Sapi, L. koe, os.

1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Jav. en Nederd. woordenboek*, p. 547.

Sapi, a cow, a bull. The cow kind. Bos taurus. *Nyo-o sapi*, to keep cows. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 428.

Sampi, L. (*bantèng* H.) runddier: runderen; — *loewà* eene koe; *ma-sampi-sampijan* een kinderspel.

1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 137.

Bull or cow . . . Madurese — Madura *sápe*, Súmenap *sápi*.

1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java*, 2: App. 88.

Sapi, Kuh, Ochse; (sind in Borneo nicht heimisch).

1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*. p. 510.

. . . *tjâpi*, bep. *tyapîya*, rund, os, koe. Sund., Mal. en Jav. *sâpi*, id. — *Ând-tjâpi*, kalf. 1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 385.

. . . *sâpi*, Sund., Mal. en Jav.=*tjâpi*, rund.... 1859 *Id.*, p. 554.

Cow . . . *Sapi* sapi, lûmbu. 1833 [THOMSEN], *Vocab. of the Eng., Bugis and Malay lang.*, p. 22.

Diàpi of *tjàpi*, koe. NB. Mak. Bug. *tjapi*, Mal. Jav. Sund. *sapi*.

1894 KRUYT, *Woordenlijst van de Bareë-taal*, p. 18.

The English use of *sapi* is limited. It is better known in *sapi-utan*, as enterd below.

The leather is made by the natives from hides of the *sapi*, or cattle of Madura, the only kind seen here in Surabaya.

1869 BICKMORE, *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago*, p. 60.

The coffee-tree is raised on this island, but the land is best adapted for pasturage of the *sapi*, which is similar in its habits to our own neat-cattle. 1869 *Id.*, p. 72.

The canes are cut in the field and bound into bundles, each containing twenty-five. They are then hauled to the factory in clumsy, two-wheeled carts called pedatis, with a yoke of *sapis*. 1869 *Id.*, p. 68.

(Also p. 246; picture opp. p. 68.)

Sapi-utan, the wild ox of Celebes and of some adjacent islands.

Malay ساڤي اوتن sāpī ūtan, 'ox, of the woods,' 'wild ox'; ساڤي sāpī, 'ox, bull, cow, cattle, especially wild cattle' (see SAPI); اوتن ūtan, 'woods, forest, wilderness'; the same element as that seen in ORANG-UTAN, q. v.

Sapi ūtan, 'wild cattle,' appears to be no technical name, but merely a general appellation among the Malays of the regions where the animals are found. It is noteworthy that the name sāpi ūtan is not given in any of the Malay dictionaries named in my list.

I inquired about skulls, and soon obtained . . . a fine one of the rare and curious "Sapi-utan" (Anoa depressicornis): Of this animal I had seen two living specimens at Menado, and was surprised at their great

resemblance to small cattle, or still more to the Eland of South Africa. Their Malay name signifies "forest ox," and they differ from very small, high-bred oxen principally by the low-hanging dewlap, and straight pointed horns which slope back over the neck.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 202.

On the way they caught a young *Sapi-utan* and five wild pigs. Of the former I preserved the head. This animal is entirely confined to the remote mountain forests of Celebes and one or two adjacent islands, which form part of the same group. In the adults the head is black, with a white mark over each eye, one on each cheek, and another on the throat. The horns are very smooth and sharp when young, but become thicker and ridged at the bottom with age. Most naturalists consider this curious animal to be a small ox, but from the character of the horns, the fine coat of hair and the descending dewlap, it seemed closely to approach the antelopes. 1869 *Id.*, p. 202. (Also p. 211.)

There dwells the *sapi utung* or "wild ox," probably not indigenous, but descended from the tame *sapi* introduced from Java and Madura.

1869 BICKMORE, *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago*, p. 325.

All the natives assert that this monster sometimes attacks the wild ox, *sapi-utang*, though none of them have ever seen such a dreadful combat. 1869 *Id.*, p. 333-4.

Siamang, a Malayan ape, *Hylobates syndactylus*. French *siamang*, New Latin *siamanga;* from Malay سيامڠ sīāmang, siyāmang; Achinese *siambang*, Lampong *samang*.

سيامڠ siāmang, a species of black monkey, with long arms, the gibbon of Buffon. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 195.

Siyamang. Name of a species of monkey. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 174.

سيامڠ sijamang, soort van aap, *hylobates syndactylus*. 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 147.

سيامڠ sijamang, soort van grooten aap met langen staart. Ook: eene soort van plant. 1869 KLINKERT, p. 154.

Siâmang سيامڠ a baboon. In Pêrak there is a legend which tells of a battle between the Siâmang and the Unka, the result being that the former species are only found on the left bank of the river and the latter only on the right. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:104.

Siyâ'mañ (a species of monkey). 1895 FOKKER, *Malay phonetics*, p. 79.

Also in 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 230; 1875 FAVRE, 2:619; 1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:311; 1893 KLINKERT, p. 471.

سيمبڠ siambang, een soort van langarmigen aap. 1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 164.

Samang (ook Ab[oengsch], v. H.), de sijamang. 1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 100.

The siamang has in recent years obtaind his due share of English notice.

A very curious ape, the *Siamang*, was also rather abundant, but it is much less bold than the monkeys, keeping to the virgin forests and avoiding villages. This species is allied to the little long-armed apes of the genus Hylobates, but is considerably larger, and differs from them by having the two first fingers of the feet united together, nearly to the end, whence its Latin name, *Siamanga syndactyla*.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 103. [An other ex. p. 103.]

One well-marked species, the largest of the genus, is the *siamang* (H[ylobates] syndactylus) of Sumatra, which is remarkable as being the ape with the best developed chin and widest breast-bone. It has also the second and third toes united by skin down to the last joint of each. 1878 *Encyc. Brit.*, 2:150.

An untamed *siamang* which lives on the roof, but has mustered up courage to-day to come down into the verandah, has jumped like a demon on the retriever's back, and, riding astride, is beating him with a ruler. 1883 BIRD, *Golden Chersonese*, p. 309.

Every now and then a curve of the road brought me on a colony of *Siamang* apes (Siamanga syndactyla), some of them hanging by one arm to a dead branch of a high-fruiting tree with eighty unobstructed feet between them and the ground, making the woods resound with their loud barking howls. 1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 129.

The *Siamang* comes next in size to the Orang-utan, which is the largest of the great apes living in this part of the world, and which is found elsewhere only in the Malacca peninsula, the Orang-utan being confined to Sumatra and Borneo. 1885 *Id.*, p. 129.

The *Siamang* is a very powerful animal when full grown, and has long jet-black glancing hair. In height it stands little over three feet three or four inches, but the stretch of its arms across the chest measures no less than five feet five to six inches, endowing it with a great power of rapid progression among the branches of the trees. Its singular cry is produced by its inflating, through a valve from the windpipe, a large sac extending to its lips and cheeks, situated below the skin of the throat, then suddenly expelling the enclosed air in greater or less jets, so as to produce the singular modulations of its voice.

1885 *Id.*, p. 129. (Also p. 226.)

Sumpit, a blowpipe, the same as SUMPITAN, q. v.; also one of the darts or small arrows discharged from the blowpipe.

The regular Malay term for the Malayan blowpipe, and the one by which it is chiefly known in English, is sumpĭtan, as given below; but sumpit also occurs in the same sense. In Achinese it is *sumpit* or *setumpit*. In Borneo and Celebes *sumpit*, with many variations, is the prevalent name. It is explaind as 'a

narrow thing,' from the Malay سمڤيت sumpit, sempit, 'narrow,' which answers to Javanese *supit*, Dayak *sipit*, Malagasi *sumpitră*, 'narrow.'

Sompit. Siphon. 1831 HAEX, p. 43.

سمڤيت sompit eene fpuit. Sompit-kan fpuiten.
1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 215.

سمڤيت soempit, blaaspijp: mẹnjoempit (ken, T.), blazen kogeltjes of pijltjes doer eene pijp naar iets.
1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:280.

سومڤيت *soempit* of *sĕtoempit*, blaasroer.
1889 LANGEN, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal*, p. 159.

Sipet, ein Blasrohr (eine Waffe der Dajacken, wodurch sie vergiftete Pfeile schiessen; gewöhnlich ist oben noch eine Lanzenspitze daran); das in einem Strahle aussprützen.... *Simpet* (transitiv oder intransitiv), *manjipet*, *hasipet dengan* (nur transitiv), durch ein, mit einem Blasrohre schiessen.... *Sampetan*, das durch ein Blasrohr schiessen. *Manjampetan*, durch ein Blasrohr schiessen.
1859 HARDELAND, *Dajacksch-deutsches wörterbuch*, p. 530.

Sumpitan, or blowpipe for arrows, Dayak *sipŏt*.
1861 CHALMERS, *Vocab. of Eng. and Sarawak Dyaks* (in Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 1896, 2: App. p. 152).

Sea Dyak *sumpit*, *nyumpit*, a blow-pipe, to shoot with the blow-pipe.
1896 ROTH, *Sea Dyak, Malay and Eng. vocab.* (*ib.*, 2: App. p. 37).

Blow-pipe, Iranun *sumpit*....Bulud Opie *saput*....Kian Dyaks *umput*, Punan Dyaks *upit*, Melano Dyaks *niput*, Bakutan Dyaks *upit*, Land Dyaks *sipot*, Balau Dyaks, *sumpit*.
1896 SWETTENHAM, *Vocabularies* (*ib.*, 2: App. p. 159).

Malay sumpitan blow-tube, Kanowit *seput*, Kyan *humput*, Bintulu *sepot*, Punan *upit*. 1896 LOW, *Vocabularies* (*ib.*, 2: App. p. 86).

. . . 6c *sappoe*, bep. *sâppoeka*, blaasroer, Boegin. idem. Mal. soempietan, idem. 1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 555.

Sopu, blaasroer; *ana sopu*, de pijltjes. Mak. *sappụ*, Bug. *sĕppụ*, Bent. *supu*, Sang. *sẹ̆pụ*, Dano, Bul. *sĕput*, Tag. *sumpit*, Bis. *songpit*. Vgl. de Jav. afleidingen van den stam *pĕt*, *pit*, *put*, *pot*.
1894 KRUYT, *Woordenlijst van de Bareë-taal*, p. 65.

Crawfurd givs a verb sumpit, but this is rather the "root" of the actual verb meniumpit.

Sumpit. To discharge anything from the mouth by a forcible expiration, to perflate. 1852 CRAWFURD, *Malay and Eng. dict.*, p. 176.

Sumpit, to blow small arrows, headed with a bit of cotton, through a hollow bambu cane, with which to kill birds.
1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 463.

The boring of a *sumpit* by a skilful hand is performed in a day. The instrument used is a cold iron rod, one end of which is chisel-pointed and the other round.
1849 BURNS, *Jour. Ind. arch.*, 3:142 (in Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (1896), 2:185).

In "Sarawak" (p. 330) Sir Hugh Low was, I think, the first traveller to call attention to the fact that the little iron hook fastened at the outlet end of the *sumpit* is a "sight." 1896 ROTH, *ib.*, 2:184.

Sumpit in the sense of 'dart' or 'arrow,' appears to be a mistake made, or followd, by Captain Mundy in the quotations given. The Malay سمڤت sumpit does not mean 'dart' or 'arrow.'

Every Dyak house, of large dimensions, is a fortress in itself.... The inhabitants blew showers of *sumpits* into our boats as they passed, wounding several men.... To spare their houses after they had attacked us with their poisoned darts, would have been construed by them to a fear of landing amongst them. 1846 MUNDY, *Journal*, in *Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes* (1848), 2:226.

Several of our men were wounded by the *sumpits;* however, the arrows, on being drawn out, left a very small incision, which a kind messmate instantly sucked, and the poison (a black substance made from the upas tree) was extracted. These arrows are nine inches long, of tough wood, not thicker than moderate sized wire, very neatly made, and generally barbed with sharpened fish bones. At twenty yards' distance, the barb meeting the bare skin, would bury half the arrow in the flesh, but would not penetrate cloth at the distance of forty yards; the extreme range may be eighty or ninety yards.... The quiver for these arrows is really curious, beautifully made from the large bamboo, and besides the darts usually contain[s] a variety of amulets or charms in the shape of pebbles, bones, and odd pieces of wood, with the skins of monkeys. 1846 *Id.*, 2:226–7.

Sumpitan, a naïve engin of war, being a long pipe or tube from which arrows ar blown by the breath; a kind of savage pea-shooter, with arrows for peas.

Also, in the first recorded example, *sempitan;* Dutch *soempitan;* from Malay سمڤيتن sumpītan, Sundanese *sumpitan,* a pipe (as described), properly 'a narrow thing,' from سمڤت sumpit, 'narrow, strait'; see SUMPIT.

سمڤيتن sumpītan a long narrow tube, through which the natives of several of the eastern islands blow a kind of arrow, which is sometimes poisoned. ميسمڤت meniumpit to shoot through such a tube. Pergīlah īya meniumpit būrong he went out to shoot birds.

1812 MARSDEN, p. 183.

سمڤت sompit eene ſpuit. Sompit-kan ſpuiten. Sompiet-an een blaaspijp, lange en naauwe pijp waardoor men pijltjes of erwten blaast om menſchen of dieren te wonden of te dooden; de pijltjes

welke de inlanders van fommige eilanden door zoodanige pijpen blazen zijn veelal vergiftigd en veroorzaken gevaarlijke wonden. Menjompit door middel van zoodanige pijp fchieten....

1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 215.

Sumpitan. A pipe or tube for discharging missiles by blowing with the mouth. 1852 CRAWFURD, *Malay and Eng. dict.*, p. 176.

سمڤت sĕmpit, naauw, eng. . . . Sĕmpitan, lang roer met een naauw gat om pijlen door te blazen. Mĕnjĕmpit, een soempitan gebruiken...(Jav. *soepit*, id. Daj. *sipet*, blaasroer).

1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 140.

سمڤت sumpit étroit, circonscrit, renfermé . . . سمڤيتن sumpītan, tuyau long et étroit, sarbacane. 1875 FAVRE, 2:729.

Soempitan, blaasroer, blaaspijp, lett. het nauwachtige; mĕnjoempit, iets met een blaasroer schieten, b. v. een vogel.

1893 KLINKERT, p. 395.

Sumpitan, the instrument used for blowing arrows. A blow-pipe. This instrument was formerly used extensive[ly] in ancient Java, as it now even [even now] exists, in common use, among the rude inhabitants of Borneo and Celebes. In Java it is, now a days, only a child's plaything. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 463.

Blow-pipe....Dusun *soputan*....Sulus *sumpitan*....

1896 SWETTENHAM, *Vocabularies* (in Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 2: App. p. 159).

The sumpitan is described and pictured, and quotations ar given, in the extensiv work of Mr. H. Ling Roth last cited, (2: 184-188). The poisons used and their sources ar also described (2: 188–201).

The English quotations for *sumpitan* begin with Herbert (1638).

And (in Makasser) which is no lesse infernall, the men use long canes or truncks (cald *Sempitans*), out of which they can (and use it) blow a little pricking quill, which if it draw the lest drop of blood from any part of the body, it makes him (though the strongest man living) die immediately; some venoms operate in an houre, others in a moment, the veynes and body (by the virulence of the poyson) corrupting and rotting presently, to any man's terrour and amazement, and feare to live where such abominations predominate.

1638 SIR T. HERBERT, *Travels*, p. 329. (Y. p. 729.)

This tribe of Kayans is moreover described as being much more expert with the *sumpitan* than other Dyaks; their usual mode of warfare being rather to lie in wait for their enemy in the jungle, or to track him through the bush. To the *sumpitan* a spear is attached. The arrows are contained in a bamboo case hung at their side, and at the bottom of this quiver is the poison of the upas. The arrow is a thin piece of wood, sharp-pointed, and inserted in a socket, made of the pith of a tree, which fits the tube of the blow-pipe. They carry a

small calabash for these arrow-heads, and on going into action prepare a sufficient number, and fresh dip the points in the poison, as its deadly influence does not continue long. When they face an enemy, the box at the side is open ; and, whether advancing or retreating, they fire the poisoned missiles with great rapidity and precision : some hold four spare arrows between the fingers of the hand which grasps the *sumpitan*, whilst others take their side-case.

1841 BROOKE, *Journal*, in *Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes* (1848), 1:260–1.

In advancing, the *sumpitan* is carried at the mouth and elevated, and they will discharge at least five arrows to one compared with a musket. Beyond a distance of twenty yards they do not shoot with certainty from the lightness of the arrow, but I have frequently seen them practice at the above-named range, and they usually struck near the centre of the crown, none of the arrows being more than an inch or two from each other. On a calm day, the utmost range may be a hundred yards. The poison is considered deadly by the Kayans, but the Malays do not agree in this belief. My own impression is that the consequences resulting from a wound are greatly exaggerated, though if the poison be fresh, death may occasionally ensue : but decidedly, when it has been exposed for any time to the air it loses its virulence.

1841 *Id.*, 1:261.

All the tribes who use the *sumpitan*, from their peculiar mode of fighting, and the dread of the weapon, are called Nata Hutan, or "Wood devils." Besides the *sumpitan* they also wear the "Ilang," or sword.... 1841 *Id.*, 1:262. (Also, 1:164.)

In the work cited, opposit p. 261, there is a picture of a "Dyak blowing the sumpitan." His cheeks ar puft out and his hair streams in the wind. Two heads hang from his girdle.

The length of the longest *sumpitan* I saw was between seven and eight feet, and much resembled the cherry-stick pipes of Turkey. The beauty and straightness of the bore is remarkable, and in order to give the greatest velocity to the arrow, the head of it is made to fit exactly to the size of the tube, and is formed of a sort of pith, or of very soft wood. 1846 MUNDY, *Journal*, in *Narative of events in Borneo and Celebes* (1848), 2:227.

It was at one of the positions, where the Dyaks were assembled in force, that a volley of musketry passing over our heads, and striking the water beyond our oars, showed us we were in the neighborhood of more dangerous weapons than the native *sumpitan*. 1846 *Id.*, 2:228.

Their [the Samangs'] weapon is the *sumpitan*, a blow-gun, from which poisoned arrows are expelled.

1883 BIRD, *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 16.

Sumpitan is referd to by Yule (p. 726), but it is not enterd. It is in the S. D.

Swallow, the sea-slug, cald also tripang, bêche de mer, holothurion.

The word is written also *swalloe*. It represents the Malay سوال suwāla, سوالا suwālā, according to Crawfurd a Bugis word; Lampong *suwala*, Sundanese *sawala*.

As the swallow is the sea-slug, we might reasonably look to see it in a true marine form **sea-swallow*; and Roorda van Eysinga (1825) actually produces this queer fowl, in the Dutch form *zeezwaluw*, 'sea-swallow,' a bird of a very different feather from the bird of the air so cald.

سوالا suālā the sea-slug, swalloe, tripan, holothurion.
1812 MARSDEN, p. 189.

سوال soewâla, zeezwaluw, tripan.
1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 222.

Suwala (Bu). The swalloe, tripang, or sea-slug, *Holothurion*.
1852 CRAWFURD, p. 178.

سوالا soewala, eene soort van tripang. (Volg. C. Boeg.)
1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 143.

سوال *suwāla*, sorte de tripan. v. تريڤغ *tripang*.
1875 FAVRE, 2:641.

سوال soewālå, men[angkabausch]: teripang (soend. *sawala*). (T.)
1880 WALL and TUUK, 2:297.

Soewala tripang.
1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenlijst*, p. 110.

Sawala, the sea-slug or tripang of commerce, when alive in the sea. When dried for market, it is called Tripang. Holothurion.
1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 434.

I have been told by several Buggesses that they sail in their Paduakans to the northern parts of New Holland . . . to gather *Swallow* (Biche de Mer), which they sell to the annual China junk at Macassar.
1783 FORREST, *Voyage to Mergui*, p. 83. (Y.)

Swalloe. 1812 MARSDEN [see above].

Swalloe. 1852 CRAWFURD [see above].

Swallow, Swalloe. The old trade-name of the sea-slug, or *Tripang*, q. v. It is a corruption of the Bugi (Makassar) name of the creature *Suwālā* (see Crawfurd's Malay Dict.). 1886 YULE and BURNELL, p. 671.

Tokay, a name not often seen in English books, for the Malayan gecko. It is in fact at the last analysis the same as *gecko*, both names being different attempts to imitate the lizard's peculiar cry. See GECKO.

Tokay is an English spelling of the Malay توكي tōkē, also written توكق tōkeḳ, and تكق tĕkeḳ, with the final ḳ often silent (compare under ABADA); Javanese *tĕkek*, in Sunda *tokė*, Bali *tuké*, Bugis and Macassar *toké*. This name is an imitativ variant of ڬوكي gōkē, which is a variant of ڬيكق gēkoḳ, *ڬيكو gēkō, gekko, whence the English *gecko*. See vol. xvii. p. 140.

توكي tōkē and توكق tōkek, a large and noisy species of lizard. (Vid. توكي gokē.) 1812 MARSDEN, p. 90.

توكي tokej een groote en geluidgevende haagdis (volgens zijn ftem, gekko genaamd). 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 95.

Tâkek (J). The *tokay*, or noisy house lizard. [*Tōkek not entered.] 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 186.

توكي tokei, soort van groote hagedis, gekko. (Jav. tèkek. Mak. Boeg. tokè.) 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 76.

توكى tōké, le lézard, le gecko. On trouve aussi توكق tōkek, and تكى tokē. Jav. . . . *tekek*. Sund. . . . *toké*. Mak. et Bugis . . . *toké*. 1875 FAVRE, 1:685.

توكك tōkek.... II. naam eener soort van hagedis, wonende in huizen en op boomen, waar zij van tijd tot tijd en schel geluid laat hooren; z. tẹkek. 1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:424.

تكك tẹkek, naam eener groote soort van hagedis....

1877 *Id.*, 1:380.

Tokek (of Tĕkek), gekko, groote soort hagedis. 1895 MAYER, p. 268.

Tóke^{p}, a large house-lizard making this sound. 1895 FOKKER, *Malay phonetics*, p. 94.

Tĕkĕk, A. gekko. 1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Javaansch en Nederduitsch woordenboek*, p. 598.

. . . [*tĕkek*], nom d'un gros lézard. 1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 201.

Toké, a large description of house lizard, called in Malay Géko. Both words being taken from the peculiar loud cry of the animal. A large one is six inches long in body with a tail of five inches more. The animal is nearly five inches in circumference round the belly, bites hard, and is speckled with various colours. It walks and runs along the ceiling of a room as easy as on a flat table, the paws being peculiarly formed for that purpose. 1852 RIGG, *Dict. of Sunda lang.*, p. 501.

Toeké, 1. een soort van groote hagedis; 2. ben. van een soort van varen. 1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 97.

. . . *tôké*, bep. *tôkeka*, soort van groote hagedis, gekko. Boeg. idem, Mal. *tôkej*, Jav. *tĕkek*. 1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 269.

Of the English form *tokay* I find but few examples. Even *gecko*, it will hav been seen, seldom occurs in English use with reference to the Malayan lizards.

Goke. A name for the *tokay*, or noisy lizard; v. Tâkeh. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 51.

Among these trees I was surprised to hear the noise, or more properly, words, "*Tokay! Tokay!*" and my servant at once explained that that was the way a kind of lizard "talked" in his land. So snugly do these animals hide away among the green leaves that it was several days before I could satisfy myself that I had secured a specimen of this speaking quadruped. 1869 BICKMORE, *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago*, p. 37.

Trassi, a condiment in general use in Java and surrounding regions. It consists of prawns or shrimps, and small fish, and other things, associated without regard to race, color, or previous condition, pickled, dried, crusht, prest, or otherwise prepared, and allowd to become mellow; making a composition of great strength and olfactory efficacy. It is the Javanese equivalent of the Malay balāchan. See BALACHAN.

It is common in Malay, ترأسي trāsi, tĕrāsi, from Javanese *trasi.*

Trasi (Jav.). A condiment of bruised and pickled prawns and other small fish, the blachan of the Malays. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 195.

*ترأس ṭerāsi, batav. (jav., T.) = bĕlātjan.
1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:349.

ترأسي tĕrasi, Jav. e. s. v. vischgelei, = bĕlatjan, zie ald.
1893 KLINKERT, p. 168.

Tĕrasi, fijne garnalen of visch fijngestampt en daarna gedroogd, toespijs bij de rijsttafel voornaamelijk in Samběl gebruikt.
1895 MAYER, p. 250.

The following ar from Javanese dictionaries :

Trasi, gestoten, vermalen garnalen of andere visch met zout vermengd. *Tras bloero*, roode trasi, zeer geliefkoosde kost van de javanrn [sic]. 1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Javaansch....woordenboek*, p. 635.

. . . [*trasi*] N. . . . [*trahos*] K. espèce de poisson de mer, préparé avec des épices et pilé très-menu, pour être servi avec le riz.
1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français*, p. 197.

Raffles describes the process of manufacture of this strong meat as mildly as if he wer speaking of cheese :

Trási or *bláchang* is prepared in many situations along the northern coast, but is mostly required for the consumption of the interior. It is prepared from prawns or shrimps, and extensive fisheries for the purpose are established in many parts of the coast. The shrimps being taken are strewed with salt, and exposed to the sun till dry; they are then pounded in wooden mortars, dressed, and formed into masses resembling large cheeses; in this state they constitute an article of trade, and are distributed through the country. The putrescent fluid

remaining after the expression strongly impregnated with the odour of the shrimps, is evaporated to the consistence of a jelly, and affords a favourite sauce called *pétis*. An inferior kind of *trási* is prepared from small fish, and, when made into the form of small balls, is called *blények*. *Trási blúro* is of a reddish colour, and much esteemed at the native capitals. 1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java*, 1:98, 99.

A vile odour which permeates the whole air within a wide area of the market-place, is apt to be attributed to these piles of fish; but it really proceeds from another compound sold in round black balls, called *trassi*. 1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 60. [Java.]

The author goes on to tell his personal experience with trassi (p. 60, 61).

Trepang. See TRIPANG.

Tripang, the sea slug, cald also SWALLOW, q. v., and *bêche de mer*.

Also speld *trepang* and *tripan;* French *tripan*, Dutch and German *tripang;* from Malay تريڤڠ trīpang, tĕrīpang. Sundanese *tripang*, Macassar *taripang*, Bugis *taripang*. It is collected chiefly for Chinese consumption.

Trīpang is not in Marsden 1812, nor in Roorda van Eysinga 1825.

Tripang. The bech de mer, Holothurion; v. Suwala. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 195.

تريڤڠ tripang tripang, holothuria edulis. (Mak. Boeg. *id.*) 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 62.

تريڤڠ trîpang, tripan (holothuria edulis), dont on fait une grand consommation en Chine. Sund. . . . *tripang*. Mak. et Bugis. . . . *taripang*. 1875 FAVRE, 1:805.

تريڤڠ tẹrīpang of gāmat, zeeëchel, zeeworm — holothurion. Komt gedroogd in den handel en wordt, inz. door de Chineezen, als eene lekkernij gegeten; soorten: t. bōētoh keling, kleine soort: t. kōlong, groote soort, in diep water, waarvan de naam. 1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:357.

Also in 1878 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, ed. Grashuis, p. 832; 1893 KLINKERT, p. 172.

Tripang, Holothurion, a black sea-slug, collected and dried for the China market; called also *Sawala*, when alive in the sea. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 503.

. . . *tarîpang*, tripang, soort van visch. Boeg. idem. Van dezen visch vindt men onderscheidene soorten. De voornaamste heeten aldus.... [20 sorts ar named.] 1859 MATTHES, *Makassaarsch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 336.

The earliest English uses show *tripan*, *trepang;* but *tripang* is the correct form.

سوالا suālā, the sea-slug, swalloe, *tripan*, holothurion.

1812 MARSDEN, p. 189.

There are two kinds of *trepang*. 1814 FLINDERS, *Voy.*, 2:231. (S. D.)

Bich de mar is well known to be a dried sea slug, used in the dishes of the Chinese: it is known among the Malayan Islands by the name of *tripang*, and collected on the shores of nearly all the islands of the Archipelago. It usually sells in China at from ten to fifty dollars per *pikul*, according to its quality, but being an article still more perishable than the birds'-nests, and very bulky and offensive, it seldom composes the cargoes of European vessels. 1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java*, 1:208.

His name was Baderoon, and as he was unmarried and had been used to a roving life, having been several voyages to North Australia to catch *trepang* or "bêche de mer," I was in hopes of being able to keep him.

1869 WALLACE, *Malay Archipelago* (1890), p. 165.

Pearls, mother-of-pearl, and tortoise-shell, find their way to Europe, while edible birds' nests and "*tripang*" or sea-slug are obtained by shiploads for the gastronomic enjoyment of the Chinese.

1869 *Id.*, p. 309.

Living in a trader's house everything is brought to me as well as to the rest—bundles of smoked *tripang*, or bêche de mer, looking like sausages which have been rolled in mud and then thrown up the chimney. 1869 *Id.*, p. 329. (Also BICKMORE, p. 101–2; FORBES, p. 299.)

Ungka, a tailless ape of Sumatra and the Malay peninsula.

The word is found also, in what English use it has, written *unka*, *ongka*, and, erroneously, as *unga*, *oungha*. The normalized English form *unka* is perhaps preferable.

The Malay term is اوڠکا ūngkā, اوڠك ōngka, more commonly written without the *wau*, اڠکا angkā, angka, اڠك ongka, ungka, اڠکه ungkah. Favre enters an other form اڠکو engkū, probably the same animal.

اوڠکا ūngkā or اڠکا angka, a species of monkey described as having no tail, walking erect, and extremely swift.

1812 MARSDEN, p. 23.

اڠکا angkâ eene soort van apen. (zie oengkâ).

1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 13.

اوڠك oengka of *angka* zekere aap hebbende geen' staart, gaande regt op. 1825 *Id.*, p. 28.

Angka (Ben). Name of a species of monkey.

1852 CRAWFORD, p. 8.

اوڠك oengka, soort van aap, *hylobates agilis*.

1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 20.

اڠك ongka, nom d'un singe sans queue (hylobates agilis).... On trouve ordinairement ce mot écrit اوڠك *ŏngka.* 1875 FAVRE, 1:51.

اڠكه ungkah, nom d'une sorte de singes (Kl.). v. اڠك *ongka.* 1875 *Id.*, 1:52.

اڠكو engku, sorte de singes, prob. pour اڠك ongka. 1875 *Id.*, 1:53.

اڠك ongka, naam eener soort van grijze apen, zonder staart en met zeer lange armen—*hylobates concolor; simia longimana.* 1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:56.

Ungka اوڠكا a monkey—the "Wah-Wah." 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:125.

اڠك ongka, e. s. v. grijzen aap, zonder staart en met zeer lange armen, *hylobates concolor.* 1893 KLINKERT, p. 21.

In the following dictionary entry, the word is used in English context, in the Anglicized spelling *unka:*

Siâmang سيامڠ a baboon. In Pêrak there is a legend which tells of a battle between the Siâmang and the *Unka*, the result being that the former species are only found on the left bank of the river and the latter only on the right. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:105.

The black and white *unka.* 1883 *Encyc. Brit.*, 15:322.

Forbes uses the Dutch and French spelling *ongka.*

The Siamang and the *Ongka* (Hyalobates variegatus), an allied but smaller ape, are the most interesting of the Quadramana to be met with in this region, the Orang-utan not being found so far in the south. 1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 156.

Two recent English dictionaries identify the ungka with the siamang; but at home the ungka is a different being.

Upas, a vegetable poison famous for its supposed extraordinary qualities; also the tree supposed to produce this poison, the celebrated "bohon-upas" of rhetorical allusion. See BOHON-UPAS.

The facts and the fictions about upas the poison, and upas the poison-tree, more properly cald the *upas-tree* or the *bohon-upas*, appear in the citations below and in those under the word last mentiond.

The Malay word اوڤس ūpas means simply 'poison.' It commonly refers to vegetable poisons, because such ar more common. It is Javanese *hupas*, Sundanese *upas*, Balinese *hupas*, poison. In the Lampong language *upas* means 'sickness.'

Oupas. Venenum, quo aliquid inungitur. Bisa virus inaquatum vt nihil appareat. Cris wrangan toxicum, cum certa specie virulentiæ. 1631 HAEX, p. 32.

اوڤس ūpas a milky juice extracted from certain vegetables, operating, when mixed with the blood, as a most deadly poison, concerning the effects of which many exaggerated stories have been related. (Vid. Hist. of Sumatra, ed. 3, p. 110.) Pūhn ūpas the poison-tree, arbor toxicaria Macassariensis, Thunb. Krīs ber-ūpas a poisoned weapon. Upas ber-ūlam rachūn vegetable mixed with mineral poison. 1812 MARSDEN, p. 24.

اوڤس oepas, gif, vergif uit zekere planten, dat als doodelijk beschouwd wordt. 1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 28.

Upas (J). Poison, venom, bane. 1852 CRAWFURD, p. 203.

اوڤس oepas, vergiftig plantensap, plantaardig vergift: pohon —, vergiftboom, inzond. *antiaris toxicaria* en *strychnos tieute*. Běroepas. (Jav. — Mal. ايڤه ipoeh.) 1863 PIJNAPPEL, p. 20.

اوڤس ūpas, suc vénéneux de certaines plantes, poison végétal. — ڤوهن pōhon ūpas, arbre dont le suc est un poison (*antiaris toxicaria* et aussi *strychnos tieute*).... Jav. et Sund. . . . *upas*. 1875 FAVRE, 1:31.

اوڤس ōpas (=īpoh), naam van een' boom—arbor toxicaria Macassariensis—welks sap zeer vergiftig is en gebruikt wordt, om pijlen, inz. pijltjes voor blaasroeren te vergiftigen; het vergif zelf; planten-vergif in 't alg.; pijltjes met ōpas vergiftigd; — *ō. bīdji, naam eener vergiftige plant—sophora. (R.) 1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:145.

Ûpas اوڤس, a milky juice extracted from the Îpoh tree. 1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:126.

Also 1884 BADINGS, p. 307; 1893 KLINKERT, p. 61; 1895 MAYER, p. 180.

Hoepas, A. venijn, vergif, bijzonder uit het plantenrijk. *Kěnno hoepas*, door vergif aangetast. *Hoepas nègoro bali mandhi*, het vergif van Bali is doodelijk. 1835 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, *Javaansch en Nederduitsch woordenboek*, p. 184.

. . . [*hupas*], poison, vénin. 1870 FAVRE, *Dict. jav.-français*, p. 43.

Upas, venom, poison. Any noxious juice either vegetal or animal. *Upas orai*, the poisonous spittle of a Snake. The secretory matter which is contained in its poison-bag. 1862 RIGG, *Dict. of the Sunda lang.*, p. 521.

Hœpas plantaardig vergif; giftig. 1876 R. VAN ECK, *Balineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*, p. 34.

'Oepas, ziekte. 1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Holl. woordenlijst*, p. 80.

The Malay name for "the poison-tree," or any poison-tree, is ڤوهن اوڤس pōhun ūpas, pūhun ūpas, represented in English by BOHON UPAS. The names of two poison-trees, the

Javanese *anchar* (Malay also انچر anchar) and *chetik*, appear, occasionally, in English books. They ar omitted from this paper.

The Sundanese name for the poison-tree is *bulo ongko* (Rigg, p. 70).

From the fabulous account of the poison-tree, the *bohon-upas*, given to the world a hundred years ago, a part of which is quoted in the article BOHON-UPAS, the word *upas* was taken into English use by Erasmus Darwin and others as the name of the tree.

> Fierce in dread silence on the blasted heath
> Fell *Upas* sits, the Hydra Tree of death;
> Lo! from one root, the envenom'd soil below,
> A thousand vegetative serpents grow.
>
> 1789 DARWIN, *Loves of the plants;* in *The botanic garden*, Part II. (Y.)

> This boundless *upas*, this all-blasting tree.
>
> 1818 BYRON, *Childe Harold*, 4:126.

> *Parbaya.* Aye, I have heard
> Of this your cruel mercy;—'tis to seek
> That tree of Java, which, for many a mile,
> Sheds pestilence;—for, where the *Upas* grows,
> It blasts all vegetation with its own,
> And, from its desert confines, e'en those brutes
> That haunt the desert most shrink off and tremble.
>
> 1822 COLMAN, *The law of Java*, 1:2. (Y.)

The word first appears in an English dictionary in Worcester (1846).

> Here and there [in Java], about 5000 feet, appeared purple violets (V. alata) increasing in abundance with the ascent through woods of magnolias and chestnuts, . . . on whose floor the dreaded *Upas* dropped its fruits. Beneath the shady canopy of this tall fig no native will, if he knows it, dare to rest, nor will he pass between its stem and the wind, so strong is his belief in its evil influence.
>
> 1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 112.

An account follows of a particular upas-tree "in the center of a tea-estate," and of the manner in which two Chinamen cut it down without suffering any harm.

> *Upas.* This word is now, like Juggernaut, chiefly used in English as a customary metaphor, and to indicate some institution that the speaker wishes to condemn in a compendious manner. [The article continues at great length.] 1886 YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 726.

Upas in its proper sense, 'a poison,' especially a vegetable poison, is also used in English books.

Of the plants of the Indian islands two at least afford a most subtle poison, either taken into the stomach or circulation, the Anchar and the Chetik. The word *Upas* in the Javanese, and some other languages of the western portion of the Archipelago, is not a specific term, but the common name for poison of any description whatever.

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 1:467.

To produce the fullest effects, the *upas* poison, of either kind, must be recent and well preserved. 1820 *Id.*, 1:468.

The Chetik is a large creeping shrub.... It is the bark of the root of this plant which affords the *upas* or poison, which is an extract of nearly the consistence of syrup, obtained by boiling it with water.

1820 *Id.*, 1:468.

The proper English name of the tree, when not fully translated *poison-tree*, is *upas-tree*, which is a half-translation of what is also transferd bodily, though perverted, as *bohon-upas*.

From that accursed venom springs
The *Upas Tree* of Death.

1800 SOUTHEY, *Thalaba*, 9:200.

Such, unhappily for fiction, is the true account of the *upas tree*, the bark of which is used by the natives of the countries in which it grows as wearing apparel, and beneath the shade of which the husbandman may repose himself with as much security as under that of coco-palm or bamboo. Every thing we know of the true history of the *upas tree* proclaims the egregious mendacity of the man who propagated the fable respecting it, which has obtained currency in Europe, and the extraordinary credulity of those who listened to his extravagant fiction.

1820 CRAWFURD, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 1:471.

In Borneo, Celebes, and other places this or an other vegetable poison, and the tree which produces it, ar known as ايڤه īpoh, Batak *ipu*, Dayak *ipo*, Macassar *ipo*. Some identify this word with اوڤس *ūpas*. It is not impossible. The word سيرة sīrih has a Jav. variant *suruh*, and the word ماوس māwas has a variant ماو māwa (see MIAS). But the similarity may be merely accidental. Ipoh has a history of its own, which I hav had to omit.

Wauwau, an East Indian ape, the agile gibbon, *Hylobates agilis*.

The name is also speld *wouwou*, *wowwow*, *wahwah*, and *wawah*. It should be pronounced with the right Roman sound of the diphthong, *wau-wau*, riming with *bow-wow*; but it is also, apparently, pronounced *wâwâ*, riming with *haha*.

The animal is so cald from its note—*wau wau*. An other ape, the *kahau*, also gets its name from its "nativ wood-notes wild."

See KAHAU. The English *bow-wow* is a similar imitativ term, applied to the utterance of the dog. Forbes speaks (p. 129) of the "loud *barking* howls" of the siamang, an ape of the same genus as the wauwau.

The Malay word is *وَاوَاو wauwau, given by Tiedtke (1872) only in the Dutch spelling *wou-wou* beside *au-wau.* I find elsewhere in Malay only the other form اَوَاو auwau. As an imitativ name it would be easily varied. The Javanese form is *wawa.* In Lampong it is *ūkau.*

The wauwau indeed has more than a note. It has notes. It sings the scale. One writer, quoted below, says it "is the only brute which may be said to sing." But there ar other brutes which hav been said to sing.

Dutch forms of the word ar *wauwau, wawwaw, wouwouw.*

اَوَاو auwau, a species of ape, or monkey, without a tail, described under the name of *wouwouw* in the Batav. Trans., vol. ii., p. 383.
1812 MARSDEN, p. 20.

اَوَاو auwau, foort van aap *wauwau* genaamd.
1825 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, p. 26.

اَوَاو auwau, e. s. v. zwarten aap; ook Abd. schets wrdb. II opgegeven. 1869 KLINKERT, p. 17.

اَوَاو auwāu, nom d'un singe noir. 1875 FAVRE, 1:21.

Maleisch wou-wou, au-wou, Sampitsch *kalawit,* Katingansch *kalawit-ngoewak,* soort van aap zonder staart.
1872 TIEDTKE, *Woordenlijst der Sampitsche en Katingansche taal,* p. 6.

. . . [*wawa*] et . . . [*wongwa*] N. K. charbon ardent. — nom d'un singe sans queue. 1870 FAVRE, *Dict. javanais-français,* p. 300.

An other form of the name is given by Crawfurd and Wall, the reduplicated ūwa-ūwa. Raffles givs it as a name for the orang-utan. In Achin a certain bird of the night is cald *ūwaḳ-ūwaḳ* (1889 LANGEN, p. 18):

Orang utan, Maláyu órang-útan, úwa-úwa.
1817 RAFFLES, *Hist. of Java,* 2: App. 89.

Uwa-uwa (J. *wawa*). Name of an ape, *Hylobates luciscus.*
1852 CRAWFURD, p. 204.

اَوَ.... II. ōẅa-2, naam eener soort van apen—*Hylobates luciscus* of Horsfield—(C.); is jav. (T.). 1877 WALL and TUUK, 1:130.

An other variation of the name appears in the Lampong *ūkau* (Dutch spelling *oekaw*).

'*Oekaw*, de wawwaw (een apensoort).
1891 HELFRICH, *Lampongsch-Hollandsch woordenboek,* p. 80.

The following ar instances of the word in English use:

The *wawah*, a kind of gibbon, several *Semnopitheci* (as the longnosed ape [KAHAU] and the golden-black or chrysomelas), and the large-eyed *Stenops tardigradus* [*kukang*], are also worthy of mention.

1878 *Encyc. Brit.*, 4:57, art. BORNEO.

The apes are represented [in Java] by the *wou-wou* (*Hylobates leuciscus*) . . . and most general of all *Macacus cynomolgus*. The existence of bands of the *wou-wou* is only too distinctly proved in the second zone by the loud and cacophonous outcry from which their name is derived. 1818 *Encyc. Brit.*, 13:602, art. JAVA.

Ûngka اوڠكا a monkey—the "Wah-Wah."

1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:125.

Mawa ماوا a tailless monkey of the kind known as "Wah-wah."

1881 SWETTENHAM (1887), 2:63.

I can hardly write, for a little *wah-wah*, the most delightful of apes, is hanging with one long, lean arm round my throat, while with its disengaged hand it keeps taking my pen, dipping it in the ink, and scrawling over my letter. It is the most winsome of creatures.

1883 BIRD, *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 297.

They seem frightfully jealous of the sweet little *wah-wah* Eblis.

1883 *Id.*, p. 310.

Another Sumatran species H[ylobates] agilis, the *Wou-Wou*, is the only brute which may be said to sing. Its full musical notes range by semi-tones through an octave, and in ascending and descending the scale these are taken perfectly. 1884-88 *Riverside nat. hist.*, 5:522.

Forbes describes the cry of the wauwau as a plaintiv wail; and figures it as "woo-oo-ut, woo-ut, wut," repeated.

In the early mornings here, I was at first constantly awakened by the loud plaintive wailings of a colony of *Wau-waus*, one of the Gibbons (Hyalobates leuciscus) from the neighbouring forest, as they came down to the stream to drink. On first hearing their cried [read *cries*] one can scarcely believe that they do not proceed from a band of uproarious and shouting children. Their "Woo-oo-ŭt—woo-ut—woo-oo-ŭt—wut-wut-wut—wut-wut-wut," always more wailing on a dull heavy morning previous to rain, was just such as one might expect from the sorrowful countenance that is characteristic of this group of the Quadrumana. They have a wonderfully human look in their eyes.... 1885 FORBES, *A naturalist's wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 70 (Java).

The habits of the *Wau-wau* closely resemble those of the Siamang of Sumatra. 1885 *Id.*, p. 71.

Miss Bird mentions a monkey cald "ouf," which she believs to be the "agile gibbon," that is, our wauwau. *Ouf* seems to represent the ordinary utterance of the animal, while *wau-wau* or *wawa* represents its cry.

The circle is completed by a handsome black monkey tied to a post, and an ape which they call an *ouf*, from the solitary monosyllable which it utters, but which I believe to be the "agile gibbon," a creature so delicate that it has never yet survived a voyage to England. [A description follows.] 1883 BIRD, *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 218.

Eblis condescends to notice me to-day, and occasionally sits on my shoulder murmuring "*ouf! ouf!*" the sweet sound which means all varieties of affection and happiness. They say *wah-wah* distinctly, and scream with rage like children, but have none of the meaningless chatter of monkeys. 1883 *Id.*, p. 332.

Eblis . . . shows the most exquisite devotion to his master, caresses him with his pretty baby hands, murmurs *ouf* in the tenderest of human tones, and sits on his shoulder or on his knee as he writes, looking up with a strange wistfulness in his eyes, as if he would like to express himself in something better than a monosyllable.

1883 *Id.*, p. 322.

Here the list of Malayan words in English chosen for statement in some detail comes to an end. Space has its limits. But I must not close without giving a list of all the principal Malayan words in English. Even this requires selection. I bar out words which, though found in English books, and entitled to be cald "Malayan words in English," ar sporadic, or special, or unimportant, or evidently hav no future. In particular, words which occur only in systematic histories or descriptions of the Malay Archipelago such as Marsden's *History of Sumatra* (1783), Raffle's *History of Java* (1817), Crawfurd's *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1825), and his *Descriptive dictionary of the Indian Islands* (1856), and ar unsupported by mention in English works of a more general nature, ar excluded.

The following list, then, contains all the principal Malayan words in English, with the exclusions above said. I giv first the English word in its best spelling, ignoring variations if not important; then a word or two of definition or identification, then the Malay word in Arabic characters, and finally the same in Roman characters, spaced. The English words ar in Clarendon type. Variant forms and references ar in small CAPITALS. The words which hav been explaind in this paper ar markt with a star.

LIST OF MALAYAN WORDS IN ENGLISH.

***Abada,** a rhinoceros, بادق bādaḳ.

Agar-agar, a sea-weed, اڬر اڬر āgar-āgar.

***Ailantus,** a tree, Molucca **ai lanit*, *كايو لاڠت *kāyu-lāngit.

Alang-alang, a grass, الڠ الڠ ālang-ālang.

***Amuck,** *amok*, etc., frenzied, a homicidal rage, امق āmuḳ, āmoḳ.

Anchar, a poison-tree, انچر anchar.

Ara, a fig-tree, ارا ārā.

Atap, thatch, اتڤ ātap.

***Babirusa**, the deer-hog, بابي روس bābirūsa.

Baju, a jacket, باجو bāju.

***Balachan**, *balachong*, *blachang*, a condiment, بلاچن balāchan.

Bangu, a stork, باغو bāngu.

Bantam, a dwarf fowl (so cald from Bantam), بنتن Bantan (a place-name).

***Banteng**, wild ox, بنتڠ banteng.

Battick, spotted cloth, باتق bātiḳ.

Batty, same as Battick.

Beo, a starling, بيو bēo.

Biawak, a lizard, بياوق biāwak.

Binturong, a quadruped, بنتورڠ bintūrong.

Blachan, *Blachang*—see Balachan.

***Bohon upas**, a poison-tree, ڤوهن اوڤس pōhon (pūhun) ūpas.

***Bruang**, the sun-bear, بروڠ brūwang, brūang.

***Bruh**, an ape, برو brū, برق bruḳ, broḳ.

Caddy, Eng. variant of Catty.

Cadjan—see Cajan.

Cajan[1], *cadjan*, a mat, كاجڠ kājang.

Cajan[2], a plant, كاچڠ kāchang. See Kachang.

Cajeput—see Cajuput.

***Cajuput**, same as Cajuputi.

***Cajuputi**, a tree, كايو ڤوتيه kāyu pūtih.

Caladium, a plant, كلادى kalādi.

Calapite (erron. *calapitte*), a concretion, كلاڤ kalāpa, coconut, + *-ite*.

***Campong**, a village, كمڤڠ kampong.

Cananga, a tree, كناڠ kanānga.

Canari—see Kanari.

Caracoa—see Coracora.

Caracole—see Coracora.

Caracora, *carecore*—see Coracora.

Carbow, a buffalo, كربو karbau.

***Cassowary**, a bird, كسواري kasuwāri.

***Casuarina,** cassowary-tree—see CASSOWARY.

CATCHUP, *catsup*—see KETCHUP.

Catty, a weight, كاتي kāti.

***Cockatoo,** a parrot, ككتو kakatūwa.

***Compound,** an Eng. adaptation of CAMPONG.

Coolicoy, bark, كولت كايو kūlit kāyu.

***Coracora,** *coracore,* a boat, كور٢ kōra-kōra, كركور kora-kōra.

CREASE, *creese, crise, criss*—see KRIS.

***Cuscus,** a marsupial, كوسكس kūskus.

Dammar, resin, دامر dāmar.

Dendeng, *dinding,* dried meat, دندغ dendeng, dinding.

***Dugong,** sea-cow, دويغ dūyong.

Duku, a fruit, دوكو dūku.

***Durian,** a fruit, دريين durīan.

Gaba-gaba, leaf-stems of the sago-palm, گاب٢ gāba-gāba.

Gambir, a resin, گمبير gambīr, گمبر gambir.

***Gecko,** a lizard, گيكق gēkok.

***Gingham,** cotton cloth, گڠكڠ ginggang.

Gomuti, inner bark of a palm, گموتى gamūti.

***Gong,** instrument of sound, گوڠ gōng, گڠ, gong, اگوڠ, agōng, اگڠ agong.

***Gutta,** gum, resin, گتة getah.

***Gutta-percha,** گتة ڤرچ getah percha.

Ipoh, poison-tree, ايڤه īpoh.

***Junco**—see JUNK.

***Junk,** a boat, جڠ, حوڠ jong, jōng, اجوڠ, اجڠ ajōng, ajong.

Kachang, a legume (same as CAJAN[2]), كاچڠ kāchang.

***Kahau,** a monkey, كاهو kāhau.

KAJUPUT—see CAJUPUT.

KAJUPUTI—see CAJUPUTI.

Kalong, a bat, كالڠ kālong.

KAMPONG—see CAMPONG.

Kanari, *kanary,* a tree, كناري kanāri.

Kanchil, a dwarf deer, كنچيل kanchīl, كنچل kanchil.

KATI—see CATTY.

KAYUPUTI—see CAJUPUTI.

***Ketchup**, *catchup*, a condiment, كيچڤ kēchap, kīchap.

KORAKORA—see CORACORA.

Kra, a monkey, كرا kra, kĕra.

***Kris**, *kriss*, *crease*, *creese*, etc., a dagger, كريس krīs, kerīs, كرس kris, keris.

Krubut, a flower, كروبت krūbut.

Kubin, a bat, كوبڠ kūbung.

Kukang, a sloth, كوكڠ kūkang.

KURAKURA—see CORACORA.

Kuwau, argus pheasant, كوو kūwau.

Ladang, a plantation, لادڠ lādang.

Lalang, same as ALANG-ALANG, لالڠ lālang.

Langsat, a fruit, same as LANSAT, لڠسة langsat.

LANSA—see LANSEH.

Lansat, a fruit, لنسة lansat.

Lanseh, a fruit, same as LANSAT, لنسه lanseh.

Lontar, a palm, لنتر lontar; dial. form of *dāun tāl (tāl Hind.).

LOORY—see LORY.

***Lorikeet**, a parrot (from LORY + (*parra*)*keet*).

***Lory**, a parrot, لوري lūrī; variant of نوري nūri, whence E. NORY.

LURI, *lury*—see LORY.

Lutung, a black ape, لوتڠ lūtung.

***Maleo**, a mound-bird, *ماوليو mauleo.

***Mamuque**, a bird of paradise—see MANUCODIATA.

Mangis, same as MANGUSTIN, مڠكيس manggīs, مڠكس manggis.

Mangustan, a fruit, مڠكستن manggustan.

MANGUSTEEN—see MANGUSTIN.

Mangustin, a fruit—an English variant of MANGUSTIN.

***Manucode**—see MANUCODIATA.

***Manucodiata**, bird of paradise, مانق ديوات mānuḳ dēwāta.

Marbow, a tree, مربو marbau.

***Mias**, orang-utan, مايس māias.

MUCK—see AMUCK.

Musang, a wild cat, موسڠ mūsang.

Mussoi, an aromatic bark, مسوي masūi.

Nangka, the jack fruit, نڠك nangka.

Napu, a dwarf deer, ناڤو nāpu.

Nibung, a species of palm, نيبڠ nībung.

Nipa, *nipah,* a species of palm, نيڤه nīpah.

***Nory,** a parrot, same as LORY, نوري nūri.

ONGKA—see UNGKA.

***Orang,** English reduction of ORANG-UTAN.

Orangkaya, a chief, اورڠ كاي ōrang kāya.

***Orang-utan,** *-outan, -outang,* etc., اورڠ اوتن ōrang ūtan.

PADDY—see PADI.

Padi, rice, ڤادي pādi.

Pandan, a tree, ڤندن pandan.

Pandanus, Latinized form of PANDAN.

Pangeran, a chief, ڤڠيرن pangēran.

***Pangolin,** an ant-eater, ڤڠكولڠ penggōling.

Pantun, a poem, ڤنتن pantun.

Parang, *prang,* a knife, ڤارڠ pārang.

PARAO—see PRAU.

PARO—see PRAU.

Pelandok, a dwarf deer, ڤلندق pelandoḳ.

PENGOLIN—see PANGOLIN.

Percha, a tree (see GUTTA-PERCHA), ڤرچ percha.

Pergam, a species of dove, ڤرڬم pergam.

Pico, a Spanish form of PICUL.

Picul, *pikul,* etc., a weight, ڤيكل pīkul.

Pinang, areca, ڤينڠ pīnang.

Pisang, a banana, ڤيسڠ pīsang.

***Pomali,** tabu, ڤمالي pamāli.

Poon, wood, tree, ڤوهن pūhun.

PRAHU—see PRAU.

PRANG—see PARANG.

PRAO—see PRAU.

***Prau,** a Malayan boat, ڤراو prāu, ڤراهو prāhu.

PRAW—see PRAU.

PROA, *proe, prow*—see PRAU.

Rakit, *racket,* a raft, راكت rākit.

Rambutan, a fruit, رمبوتن rambūtan.

Rami, *ramie,* flax, رامي rāmī.

Rasamala, a tree, راسمال rāsamāla.

RATAN—see RATTAN.

***Rattan,** a plant, روتن rōtan.

ROTA, *rotan, rotang*—see RATTAN.

Rusa, a deer, روس rūsa.

Sago, *sagu,* pith of a palm, ساڭو sāgu.

Saguire, *sagueir,* sago-palm—see SAGO.

Sambal, a curry, سمبل sambal.

***Sapi,** ox, سائي sāpi.

***Sapi-utan,** سائي اوتن sāpi ūtan.

SEMPITAN—see SUMPITAN.

***Siamang,** an ape, سيامڠ siāmang.

Siriboa, betel, سيرة بوة sīrih būah.

Sirih, *siri,* betel, سيرة sīrih.

***Sumpit,** same as SUMPITAN, سمڤت sumpit.

***Sumpitan,** a blow-pipe, سمڤيتن sumpītan.

***Swallow,** sea-slug, سوال suwāla.

Tifa, a drum, تيف tifa.

Tiong, a starling, تيڠ tiong.

***Tokay,** a gecko, توكي tōkē.

***Trassi,** *trasi,* a condiment, تراسي trāsi.

***Tripang,** *trepang, tripan,* sea-slug, تريڤڠ trīpang.

Tuak, toddy, توق tuwaḳ.

Tungeree, a fish, تڠكيري tanggīri.

***Ungka,** *unka,* an ape, اوڠك ungka, اڠك angka.

***Upas,** poison, اوڤس ūpas.

Waringin, a tree, وريڠن waringin.

***Wauwau,** *wahwah, wouwou,* a monkey, *واواو wauwau, اواو auwau.

The Malayan words in English, enumerated in the preceding list, ar 141 in number; but these ar selected from more than 300 which ar entered in my records, with etymologies and proof quotations. Beyond the 300 lie a greater number of Malayan words in English excluded, as before said, because they ar sporadic, or special, or unimportant, or hav no probable future in English. Of the 142 mentiond, or of the 300 recorded, only 56 er explaind in this paper.

But in addition to all these Malayan words in English, there ar many other words in English which ar Malayan in a secondary sense. I mean the words which hav come into English use, directly or indirectly, from the Malay or a Malayan language, but which hav their ultimate source outside of the Archipelago, in Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Persian, or some of the languages of India or of America. To set forth these words, in any of the principal classes mentiond, would require a paper in itself. I can not do more here than to name the chief words in each class.

From the Chinese, through the Malay, we hav the words *chop*, a seal, warrant; *hoey*, a guild; *japan*, varnish; *kongsee*, a public company; *lichi*, *lingking*, and *longan*, fruits; *sampan*, a boat; *sapec*, *sapeca*, a coin; *tea*, the drink; *toko*, a shop; also, through Malay and Japanese, *soy* (see page 65 f.).

From India, through the Malay, come *bamboo*; *bankshall*, a warehouse; *bilimbi*, *bilimbing*, a fruit; *candoreen*, a weight; *gadong*, a warehouse, with its English adaptation *godoun*; *garroo*-wood; *jambu*; *mace*; *mango*; *sapan*; *sarong*; and many more.

From Arabic, through the Malay, come *bahar*, a weight; *monsoon*; *passar*, etc., and, as used in books relating to the Archipelago, *arrack*, *sultan*, etc. From Persian, *nakoda*, a shipmaster; *shabandar*, an officer; etc.

From American languages, through the Malay, come *caju* and *cashew*, ultimately the same as *acajou*; *chili*, red pepper; *papaya*, papaw.

Some of the Malayan words which I hav treated present in their nativ history and in their migrations to foreign lands philologic features of great interest; but I hav no room to deal with them here. Some of these features wer toucht upon in a paper on "'Universal' qualities in the Malayan language," which I read at the last session of the Society, in April, 1896 (see vol. xvii. p. 188); wherein, and here, I think I hav said enough to show that the English etymologist will never need to weep for more worlds to explore. At the worst he has always the desperate resort, to explore his own domain; which is, indeed, this world.

The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians. —By Dr. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

While the historical, grammatical, and poetical texts bequeathed to us by the ancient peoples of Babylonia and Assyria received from the first the careful attention of Oriental scholars, the numerous tablets containing letters and dispatches have until recent years attracted only a moderate degree of interest. This was but natural. The mass of the Assyro-Babylonian literature which has come down to us is of immense extent, and the number of Assyriologists has never been large, so that a considerable degree of selection was demanded by the nature of the subject. Close study of the grammatical and lexicographical texts was absolutely necessary in order to obtain a competent knowledge of the newly discovered language. The vivid light thrown by the historical documents upon a long lost period of the world's history amply explains the zealous study bestowed upon them, while their comparatively simple style and construction rendered them a most fitting subject for workers in a new field. The many beautiful hymns and psalms discovered in the library of that great patron of letters, King Sardanapallus, and in the ruins of the Babylonian temples; the great national epic celebrating the exploits of the hero Gilgameš; the magical and liturgical texts; the intensely interesting cosmogonic legends, with the invaluable information all these supplied concerning the religion and religious myths of Western Asia, could not fail to excite deep interest in the minds of all scholars, especially when it is remembered that, at the outset, the study of Assyrian was pursued, not so much for itself, as on account of the light it was expected to shed upon the Old Testament narrative. Under these circumstances it was hardly to be expected that very great attention should be paid to a class of tablets, valuable indeed, but of minor importance compared with the texts previously mentioned, and moreover extremely difficult to interpret.

The first scholar to make use of the dispatch tablets was George Smith, who in the year 1871 published extracts from some ten of them, with transliteration and translation, in his *History of Asurbanipal.* Smith, while he often grasped the general sense of the text, was apt to be incorrect in matters of detail, and his translations are therefore faulty; but it must be borne in mind that he wrote over twenty years ago, when the field of Assyrian epistolary literature was as yet wholly unexplored. That he recognized the value of these texts is shown by his citations from them; but,

having at his command abundance of material which readily yielded far more striking results, he bestowed but scant study upon them. Thus, in the section of his book devoted to the Elamite wars, he cites and translates lines 1–13 of the very important text K 13, but goes no further, although the remaining fifty-two lines would have yielded him most valuable information in regard to the subject he had in hand. During the remaining five years of his life, Smith's work was principally devoted to the exploration of the buried cities of Western Asia and to the publication of the results attained by him in this field; and, with the exception of two texts translated in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, this branch of cuneiform literature received no further attention from him.

If I am correctly informed, the German Government had requested the British Museum to furnish some translations of Assyrian letters for the Reichspost Museum of Berlin. The task was assigned to Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, who was thus obliged to devote some attention to these texts. On the 4th of December, 1877, Mr. Pinches read before the Society of Biblical Archæology a paper entitled "Notes upon the Assyrian Report Tablets, with Translation." In this paper, which was published in the Transactions of the Society for the following year (vol. vi. pp. 209–243), the author, after a general introduction, gave a summary of the contents of four letters selected by him, followed by the cuneiform text with interlinear transliteration and translation, accompanied by brief philological notes. This was the first attempt to subject the letters to systematic study on the same lines as the other branches of Assyrian literature, and it is not surprising that this pioneer work was not, in every respect, successful. It gives an idea of the difficulties surrounding the subject, that even so experienced a cuneiformist as Mr. Pinches often failed to grasp the meaning of the texts he had selected for study. But the methods of the day were in a high degree empirical. Assyrian was studied through the medium of Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramean; and a more or less happy conjecture did the rest. The present method of study, by the comparison of parallel passages and the sifting over of the whole cuneiform literature to discover the uses of each separate word, had hardly come into existence; indeed, it is to be regretted that, even to-day, a few scholars still adhere to the older and less laborious method. However, it cannot be expected that a science, which had its birth hardly fifty years ago, should in this brief time attain perfection. We should rather rejoice that so much has been accomplished than regret that so much remains to be done.

Stimulated, perhaps, by Mr. Pinches' example, one of the old pioneers of cuneiform research, the English discoverer of photography, Mr. H. Fox Talbot, next essayed to translate the very difficult text K 31. The results of his attempt appeared in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for 1878, and in vol. xi. of the *Records of the Past*, published in the same

year, under the title "Defense of a Magistrate falsely accused." The very title shows how completely Mr. Talbot failed to understand the text, which is an appeal for redress, made by a person who claims to have been deprived of his property and otherwise injured by personal enemies, taking advantage of certain political conditions.

Since the year 1878, Mr. Pinches has published translations of a few letters, principally in *Records of the Past;* but they must all be considered as unsuccessful attempts based on the old conjectural method of work. In justice to Mr. Pinches, however, it should be stated that, while not wholly successful in his efforts to explain these difficult texts, he has rendered most valuable services to Assyriologists in making the texts accessible. His great skill and accuracy in copying and editing cuneiform texts has been exhibited on many occasions, and he has made all students of Assyriology his debtors by his most excellent work in the preparation and revision of the second edition of the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.*

The sketch of Assyro-Babylonian Literature in Kaulen's *Assyrien und Babylonien* (4th ed., 1891, pp. 189 ff.) contains (second hand) translations of a few letters; and both Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1885–86) and Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, 1886) made free use in their respective works of such letter-texts as were of historical importance.

Father J. N. Strassmaier, whose merits as a copyist are well known, published copious extracts from the letters in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, which appeared in 1886, but made no attempt at translation. In fact, until the year 1887, very little had been done toward the special study of this very interesting branch of Assyrian literature, and only a small number of complete texts had been published.[1] In 1887–89, however, an American, Mr. Samuel Alden Smith, published, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, and in the second and third parts of his *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, sixty-nine texts copied from the best preserved letter-tablets in the British Museum, with transliteration, translation, and philological notes; Mr. Pinches, who assisted materially in editing the texts, and other cuneiformists, appended additional notes. Mr. Smith unfortunately lacked the necessary philological knowledge, and, while he added greatly

[1] Dr. C. F. Lehmann's paper, "Zwei Erlasse König Asurbanabals" (ZA. ii. 1887, pp. 58–68), in which the texts K 95 and 67, 4-2, 1 are translated, can hardly be considered as an improvement upon the work of his predecessors in the field. Dr. Lehmann, subsequently, in connection with the letters published by him in his Šamaššmukukîn (1892), called attention (pp. 72-73) to the necessity for grouping all letters under the names of their respective writers, and pointed out the facilities to this end offered by Bezold's *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection.* This plan has been adopted by Dr. R. F. Harper in his *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters of the K Collection*, the first volume of which appeared in that year.

to the available material for study, he did very little to elucidate the subject. His translations not only fail to reproduce the original, but are frequently so obscure as to be actually unintelligible, owing, perhaps, to his imperfect command of German.

Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, the founder of the Leipzig school of Assyriology, who, as is evident from the numerous citations of these texts in his Assyrian Grammar and his Assyrian Dictionary, had already given much attention to the subject, next published, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (1889–91), a series of three papers on Assyrian letters, in which, unlike Smith, he gives the text in transliteration only. His commentary, however, is fuller, and he endeavors to ascertain something about the personality of the writer wherever possible. Prof. Delitzsch treated forty texts, thirty-one of which had been already translated by Smith, but in all these cases the necessity for a re-translation is obvious. Prof. Delitzsch, approaching the subject in a scientific manner, and possessing the advantages of a large experience and extensive lexicographical collections, has solved the problem, and laid down the lines upon which the study of the Assyrian epistolary literature must be carried on in the future. As in other branches of cuneiform research, he applies here the principles of common sense, even a moderate exercise of which might have saved S. A. Smith from many errors.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the way of a successful study of the Assyrian letters was the absence of sufficient available material upon which to work. While few, or comparatively few, texts were published, and while the great mass of those in the British Museum were not even catalogued according to their contents, the task was almost a hopeless one; but the difficulty has at last been removed. The catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection prepared by Dr. Carl Bezold (who may be called the Chief Registrar of Assyriology), of which the first volume appeared in 1889, has rendered it possible to select these texts from the many thousands composing the collection; and an American scholar, Dr. Robert Francis Harper, of the University of Chicago, a former pupil of Delitzsch and Schrader, has been prompt to take advantage of the fact. Aided by Bezold's catalogue, Dr. Harper has within the last few years copied a large number of these texts; and a portion of the results of his labors has been given to the world in the two volumes of his *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters of the K Collection.* These two volumes, which appeared in 1892 and 1894 respectively, contain altogether two hundred and twenty-three carefully edited and excellently published letters. Many of these texts, it is true, had already been published; but their republication is necessary, owing to the plan of the author, which is to make his work a complete "Corpus Epistolarum" of the K Collection. As in the case of S. A. Smith, Mr. Pinches has again placed his great skill and experience at the disposal of the author, and has rendered valuable service in collating a large number of the texts and aiding in editing them.

For obvious reasons Dr. Harper has grouped together all the letters of each writer, and it is his purpose to publish first those texts which preserve the name of the scribe, and later those from which the name is missing. Nor does he propose to confine himself to the *K* collection, as the title of his book would indicate, but intends to publish, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* and in *Hebraica*, letters from the other collections of the British Museum, and subsequently to incorporate them in a later volume of his work. Fourteen letters of the R^{m}2. Collection have already appeared in volume eight of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*[1] When the texts have been published, Dr. Harper proposes to add transliterations, translations, and a glossary. (See the prefaces to Parts I. and II. of Dr. Harper's work.) It is to be hoped that this work, so excellently begun, may be carried on to successful completion.[2]

In speaking of the epistolary literature of the Assyrians reference has been had to the letters of the later period, that of the Sargonides; and, as for a long time no others were known to exist, the term has become in a manner fixed, and for the sake of convenience is retained here. Its application is now, however, no longer strictly accurate. In the winter of 1887–88 some natives found at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt between three and four hundred cuneiform tablets, which proved to consist of letters and dispatches addressed to the Egyptian Court in the 15th century B. C. Of these tablets eighty-two were secured for the British Museum, and one hundred and sixty for that of Berlin; the Bûlaq Museum has sixty, and the rest are in the hands of private individuals. Excellent editions of these texts have been published by the authorities of the Berlin and British Museums, and Dr. Carl Bezold has, under the somewhat misleading title of *Oriental Diplomacy*, published in transliteration the eighty-two texts of the latter Museum, with summaries of their contents, grammatical analysis, and a glossary. While this article is going through the press, the fifth volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* has been issued. It contains a transliteration and translation of the Amarna texts, with glossary, indexes, etc., by Dr. Hugo Winckler, of the University of Berlin. This volume has also been published in English.

Of the literature of the subject, which has already assumed formidable proportions, a very complete bibliography is to be found in the edition of the British Museum texts published in 1892. A brief sketch of the characteristics of these interesting documents is given below (pp. 132 ff.).

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[1] These texts have since been republished, along with numerous other new texts, in the fourth volume of Harper's work.

[2] Parts III. and IV. have just appeared, after the present article was in type. It has therefore been impossible to make any extensive use of the new material contained therein.

Under the title Assyrian letters is included a large number of documents differing greatly in contents and scope. Among them are the letters of private individuals; letters of kings to members of their families, and to various high officers of the empire; reports of governors of provinces, and of military and civil officers; proclamations; petitions; reports of priests on omens, terrestrial and celestial; astronomical reports; reports of physicians concerning patients under their care;—in short, while letters of an official character largely predominate, nearly every species of epistolary composition is represented among these interesting texts. A systematic classification of them is for the present out of the question, since Dr. Harper's book has only reached the second volume, while the information supplied by Bezold's catalogue is of the vaguest possible character and often misleading. To this is added the further difficulty, that many of those already published are as yet very obscure. In fact, no proper classification can be carried out until a much larger number of the letters has been published, and a complete concordance prepared of the names of persons and places occurring in them. The excellent plan adopted by Dr. Harper, of grouping the letters under the names of the writers, will do much to facilitate this work. When we consider the unbounded enthusiasm with which every fragment of an ancient Greek or Roman inscription is received, and remember that in these letters we possess hundreds of original contemporary documents whose authenticity is beyond all question, their value to all students of Assyro-Babylonian life and history is not easily over-estimated.

Thus, to select a few examples, the proclamation of Sardanapallus, published in IV R² 45, no. 1, is an urgent appeal to the Babylonians to hold aloof from the threatened revolt of his brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn,—a revolt which, when it took place, shook the Assyrian empire to its foundation and led the way to its ultimate downfall.[1] The text K 13 (IV R² 45, no. 2) furnishes valuable details in regard to the events which resulted in the invasion of Elam and the sacking of Susa, described in that portion of the annals of Sardanapallus recording the eighth campaign of that monarch; while the dispatch K 10 (Pinches' *Texts*, p. 6), proceeding from the same writer, affords an insight into the distracted state of the unhappy land of Elam, which, weakened by internal factional contests, fell an easy prey to the Assyrian arms.

The letters of the old courtier Rammân-šum-uçur afford a glimpse into the manners and customs of the Assyrian court in the days of the Sargonides, and two of them especially, K 183[2] and K 595 (Harper, no. 6), are models of courtly style. In the former he complains that, owing to the machinations of powerful

[1] See JAOS. xv. pp. 311–316; Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ., No. 106, p. 108 (June, 1898).

[2] Cf. *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, i. p. 617 ff.

enemies, his son had failed to obtain a position at court, to which, it would seem, his birth entitled him, and, with the utmost tact, appeals to the king to remedy the injustice done him; the latter letter, apparently in reply to a familiar and kindly communication from the king, contains two distinct plays upon words, by ringing the changes upon which the writer conveys a series of compliments to his royal master.

In the text K 629 (Harper, no. 65), the priest Nabû-šum-iddina outlines the program of a religious ceremony, accompanied by a procession, to be held in honor of the god Nabû at Calah, in which he proposes to take part, and concludes with a prayer for the welfare of "the prince, my lord," to whom the letter is addressed. Letters from priests, indeed, are very numerous, and usually contain answers to requests for information concerning omens, lucky or unlucky days, charms, and similar matters. It is clear, not only from the letters but also from the other branches of Assyrian literature, that it was the custom of the king to consult the will of the gods in all his undertakings, and the picture in the Book of Daniel of King Nebuchadnezzar calling in the aid of his magicians and soothsayers is by no means overdrawn.

Quite a number of the letters proceed from physicians. In one (S 1064), we find the physician Arad-Nanâ applying a bandage in a case of ophthalmia or of facial erysipelas; in K 519 he recommends plugging the anterior nares in a case of epistaxis;[1] and in K 576 he advises the king to anoint himself, to drink only pure water, and to wash his hands frequently in a bowl. From the letter K 81 we learn that when the Assyrian general Kudurru lay ill at Erech, the king sent him his own physician Iqîša-aplu, by whose efforts he was so fortunate as to be restored to health.[2]

In spite of the very complete system of laws evidenced by the contract tablets, we find petitions complaining of the subversion of justice to private ends; but too much stress should not be laid upon this. All such petitions are *ex parte* statements, and few men who lose a case at law, even at the present day, acquiesce entirely in the justice of the decision.

So many sculptures have been found representing Assyrian kings riding in chariots drawn by spirited steeds that it is interesting to find a number of dispatches reporting the arrival of horses for the use of the king, his household, or his officers; and not less interesting to learn that the most highly prized breeds of these animals were the Ethiopian and the Median, both famous among other nations of antiquity as well.[3]

These few examples will give some idea of the contents of the letters, and of what we may expect to learn from them when a sufficient amount of material has been made available. The

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[1] See below, no. 14, S 1064.
[2] See *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, i. p. 198 ff.
[3] See *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, i. pp. 202–212; ii. pp. 44–55.

study, however, is by no means an easy one. These texts, varying in length from six or seven to sixty or seventy lines, proceed from a great variety of writers of different stations in life, and come from every part of the great Assyrian Empire. In the case of many of them we are at a loss to understand the affairs to which they refer, since they were composed under circumstances of which we have no knowledge. Events well known both to the writer and to his correspondent are frequently alluded to in such a way as to give but a slight hint, or none at all, as to their real significance. And this is to be expected, for a letter of the present day might well be totally unintelligible to one unacquainted with the writer and the person to whom it is addressed.

Dialectic peculiarities are to be expected; but here great caution must be used, since no safe conclusions can be formed upon this head with the rather scanty materials at present available. Above all, it must be borne in mind that these letters are not composed in the classical language of the historical inscriptions and the poetical texts, but in the colloquial speech of Assyria and Babylonia at the time of the Sargonides, differing from the classical language in somewhat the same way as Cicero's letters from his orations. Much, of course, depends upon the subject matter and the personality of the writer. The soldier, the priest, the physician, the astrologer, has each his technical terms and his peculiar forms of expression. But even in the most elevated epistolary style the language differs considerably from that of the historical texts. Words and forms abound which are only to be met with in this branch of cuneiform literature, and the long and flowing periods of the classical texts are here replaced by terser forms of speech. The syntactical construction is less rigid, while the employment of shorter sentences, and the frequent use of the particles, especially of the enclitic *ni*, renders the style more vivid and lively. Individual differences of style occur as a matter of course; the styles of the courtier Rammân-šum uṣur and of the soldier Bel-ibnî distinctly reflect the habits and pursuits of the writers.

As stated above, the Tel el-Amarna letters are not here included under the head of Assyrian letters, a term until quite recently restricted by usage to the letters of the Sargonide period, but are treated as a special branch of cuneiform literature. They are, however, so interesting and throw so much light upon a very obscure historical period that, although not coming strictly within the scope of this paper, some brief account of them would seem to be called for.

Amenophis III., of the 18th dynasty (reigned 1413–1377 B. C.), married, as has long been known from the Egyptian monuments, a Mesopotamian princess named Tii or Thi, by whom he became the father of his successor Amenophis IV. (reigned 1376–1364 B. C.). The latter, who reigned only about twelve years, seceded from the national worship of Amen, and endeavored to substitute for it that of Aten, or the solar disk. His efforts were, however,

frustrated by the vigorous opposition of the priesthood, and he retired to a place on the Nile, about a hundred and eighty miles above Memphis, where he built an entirely new temple, palace, and town. It was in the ruins of this palace, near the modern village of Tel el-Amarna, that these invaluable tablets were found in 1887–88. They consist of letters and dispatches addressed to Amenophis III., and to his son and successor Amenophis IV., by Asiatic monarchs,—among them Burnaburiaš, King of Babylon, and Ašur-uballiṭ, King of Assyria, both previously known from the cuneiform inscriptions,—and by Egyptian prefects and governors of a large number of towns in Syria and Phœnicia. All these are written in a variety of the cuneiform script intermediate between the old linear and the later cursive form, but bearing a closer affinity to the Assyrian than to the Babylonian style of writing. The language employed is, except in case of two letters, Assyrian, but, as in the letters of a later period, it differs considerably from that of the historical inscriptions. The dispatches from Syria and Phœnicia, moreover, exhibit a number of peculiarities due to the influence of Canaanite environment, and in some cases genuine Canaanite words are added as explanatory glosses to Assyrian phrases.[1] One of the letters is composed in the language of Mitani, and another in that of Arçapi, of which no specimens had previously been discovered.

The letters from the more distant Asiatic princes are uniformly friendly in tone, and refer to treaties with Egypt, to mutual alliances by marriage, to commercial relations, and to the interchange of gifts. With the close, apparently, of the reign of Amenophis III. begins a series of letters and dispatches from Syria and Phœnicia indicating the decadence of the Egyptian power in those countries. Revolt after revolt is reported, and the aid of more troops is constantly demanded. The cities are all falling away from the king; the friends of Egypt are few and weak, and surrounded by powerful enemies; unless promptly supported by strong reinforcements they can no longer hold out, and the whole country must soon be lost to the Egyptian monarch.

Most of these tablets are to be referred to the troubled reign of Amenophis IV., who, weakened by his unsuccessful contest with the priesthood of the old religion, was unable to keep in subjection his Syrian vassals, while the latter were prompt to take advantage of his weakness in order to achieve their independence. It is a most interesting fact that five of these letters are from Jerusalem, which thus appears as a city of importance even in the days before the Exodus. An excellent translation of the Jerusalem letters is given by Dr. H. Zimmern in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vi. pp. 245–263.

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[1] See Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vi. p. 154; and cf. *The Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, 1892, pp. xiii, xiv, of the Introduction, from which the facts given above are chiefly derived.

The Tel el-Amarna letters have attracted so much attention, and so much has been written about them (see the excellent bibliography appended to the British Museum edition), that further discussion is unnecessary in a paper not specially devoted to the subject. The field, however, is by no means exhausted. While the general contents of these valuable and interesting documents is pretty well known, only a comparatively small number of them has as yet been translated in a satisfactory manner, and the recent discovery of a cuneiform tablet of the same period at Tel el-Hesy, the site of the ancient Lachish,[1] gives fair promise that at no distant day the treasure may receive material additions.

In the following section, twenty selected letters are presented in transliteration, with translations and explanatory introductions. Seven of them, viz. Nos. 1, 2 (ll. 1–13), 4, 5, 6, 14, and 16, have already been translated, as will be found noted in each case; but they are here newly treated, and the present translations are offered as substitutes for those which have previously appeared. The rest are here translated for the first time. In all cases the writer has endeavored to render the Assyrian texts into intelligible English, without, however, departing from the sense and spirit of the original.

The accompanying transliterations are an attempt to embody the views of the writer as to the grammatical reconstruction of the Assyrian text; such explanations as may seem necessary will be given in the philological notes in Part II., which will also contain syllabic transliterations and literal translations.

Part I. has been prepared with special reference to non-Assyriologists, and therefore all matter of an exclusively technical nature has been reserved for Part II.

PART I.

Selected Letters, Transliterated and Translated.

1.

K 524.

Among the numerous Assyrian and Babylonian letters which have been preserved, none are more interesting than those of a certain Bel-ibnî. Rich in historical allusions, they cast a most valuable side-light upon the actors and events of an important period, and furnish many suggestive details. Seven of these letters have already been published, and, in the preface to the second part of his *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters of the K Collection*, Prof. R. F. Harper promises to edit the whole series

[1] See *Recueil des Travaux*, xv. p. 137; *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, Jan. 1893, pp. 25 ff.

in the third part of that valuable work.[1] Three letters from King Sardanapallus to Bel-ibnî have also been published with transliteration, translation, and commentary, and his name is mentioned in a number of other letters of the period.

Bel-ibnî was a man of high rank, a general in the armies of Sardanapallus, and served with distinction during the revolt of Šumaš-šum-ukîn and in the campaigns against Elam and the war-like Chaldeans of Southern Babylonia. As to his birth and family relations, we have little information. He had, however, a brother, Belšunu, and a nephew, his sister's son, Mušezib-Marduk. The nephew held a high military command under Bel-ibnî; Belšunu, seized by Nabû-bel-šumâte at the time of his revolt, was thrown into prison, loaded with chains, and held in captivity for a considerable period—an injury which goes far to account for the implacable animosity exhibited by Bel-ibnî towards the Chaldean prince. Bel-ibnî himself, according to a proclamation of the King to the people of the Gulf District, held the rank of *manzaz pâni*, a dignity reserved for the most exalted nobility and the highest officers of state, the possessors of which, as the name implies, enjoyed the right of access to the royal presence and of a place near the King's person on all occasions of ceremony.

All the letters which passed between the King and Bel-ibnî are marked, says Prof. Delitzsch (*B. A.*, i. p. 234), by the most cordial good feeling. Those addressed by the monarch to his general may be called almost affectionate in tone, and in one instance, when it seemed necessary to administer a reproof for an apparent disregard of instructions, the sting is removed by a prompt forgiveness and an expression of the utmost confidence. A translation of this letter by the present writer will be found in *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, xv. pp. 313, 314. The letters of Bel-ibnî to his sovereign, while exhibiting all the respect due to the royal station and preserving all the forms of Oriental etiquette, are yet characterized by a certain soldier-like frankness and directness of speech; and stamp the writer as a man earnest and capable in the discharge of his duties, self-reliant and thoroughly practical in all emergencies, and conscious that he both enjoyed and deserved the confidence of his friend and master.

In the year 652 B. C. (Tiele, *Babyl. Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 377), Kudurru, Governor of Erech, reports to the King that he has received a message from Sin-tabnî-uçur, Governor of Ur, stating that he has been summoned by Šamaš-šum-ukîn, King of Babylon and brother of Sardanapallus, to join in his revolt against Assyria, and praying earnestly for reinforcements, which he (Kudurru) has forthwith despatched (K 5457). In this letter Bel-ibnî is mentioned, but it is impossible to make out the con-

[1] The third volume, just issued, contains seven letters of Bel-ibnî, including a new one (K 597), hitherto unpublished. Harper has failed to see that K 1250 and K 1374 (see below, p. 136) belong to the same group.

text owing to the mutilation of the tablet. The text is published in Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, ii. p. 55.

In the year 650 B. C. (Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 381), Bel-ibnî was appointed governor of the *Mât Tâmti*[m], the district lying along the Persian Gulf (K 812; S. A. Smith, *Asurb.*, ii. p. 49), and in the same year writes to the King that he has forwarded to the Assyrian court Tammaritu, the fugitive King of Elam, recently deposed by Indabigaš, together with his family and adherents who shared his flight (K 599; Smith, *Asurb.*, p. 196).

In the letter K 5062 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 69), which is unfortunately so mutilated as to yield no connected sense, he mentions Tammaritu (obv. ll. 15, 17, 27, 30) and Nabû-bel-šumâte (obv. l. 31). The text K 1250 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 59) is badly mutilated at the beginning and end, and the name of the writer is broken away; its matter and style, however, together with a number of peculiar forms of expression, stamp it unmistakably as the composition of Bel-ibnî. A comparison of this text with K 13 leaves no doubt upon the subject.[1] "Before the troops of the lord of kings, my lord," he writes, "terror has entered (into Elam) like a ravaging disease" (ll. 8–10). "When the troops of the lord of kings, my lord, enter Dûr-ili . . . . . they shall seize that vile wretch, accursed of the gods, Nabû-bel-šumâte, and the villains who are with him, give them to the lord of kings, my lord, release all the Assyrians he holds captive, and send him to the lord of kings, my lord. When that vile wretch, accursed of the gods, Nabû-bel-šumâte, revolted some four years ago, he bound with fetters, hand (literally 'side') and foot, Belšunu, my eldest brother, a servant of the lord of kings, my lord, (and) cast him into prison" (ll. 11–25).

A Belšunu, Governor of Khindana, was eponym about the year 648 B. C. (Tiele, p. 389), but whether he was the brother of Bel-ibnî is uncertain. If the revolt of Nabû-bel-šumâte be correctly placed in 651 B. C. (Tiele, p. 381), this letter must have been written in the year 647.

Like the preceding text, K 1374 (Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, ii. pp. 20, 21) is badly mutilated, and the name of the writer is broken off. But a comparison of what remains of the introduction with other letters of Bel-ibnî clearly shows that this text proceeds from the same writer. We find also (obv. ll. 1, 8; rev. ll. 15, 18, 20, 21, 25) the king referred to as "lord of kings, my lord," an expression peculiar to the style of Bel-ibnî. He states (obv. ll. 17, 18) that all Elam has revolted against King Ummakhaldas (Ummanaldas);[2] mentions, among other persons, Umkhulumâ (rev. l. 3) and Nabû-bel-šumâte (rev. l. 6);

[1] Compare, e. g. K 1250, 8–10 with K 13, 16–18; K 1250, 11–16 with K 13, 41–43. Note also the epithet *sikipti Bel* applied to Nabû-bel-šumâte, K 1250, 14, 22–3; K 13, 39, and the use of the expression *bel šarrâni, beliia*, which characterizes all the letters of Bel-ibnî.

[2] This may refer to the rebellion of Umbakhabû'a mentioned *Asurb.*, v. 16–17.

and refers to the messengers of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, the rebellious brother of Sardanapallus (rev. l. 7). Towards the close of the letter (rev. ll. 17 ff.) he complains that though he has several times applied for horses, which are very much needed, he has been unable to obtain them.

The following letter from Bel-ibnî to the king (K 524) is published, with transliteration, translation, and commentary, in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, ii. pp. 54–58, to which are appended additional notes and corrections by Pinches (pp. 78–78), and by Strassmaier (pp. 87–88). Those points in which the translation offered below differs from that of Smith and his learned collaborators will be noticed in the philological notes.

The account given of the dealings of Nadân with Nabû-bel-šumâte, and the recommendation of summary punishment in case of any attempt to continue the intercourse, would seem to indicate that the revolt of the Chaldean prince had already been effected; while the flight from Elam of Šumâ, the nephew of Tammaritu, points to the brief reign of Indabigaš. It is probable that Šumâ, unable, perhaps on account of the illness referred to in the letter, to accompany his uncle when the latter, deposed by Indabigaš, escaped to Babylonia, made his way to the border as best he could, and was received by Bel-ibnî as related in the letter, which, if this conjecture be correct, should be referred to the year 650 B. C. The text may be translated as follows :

TRANSLATION.

To the lord of kings, my lord, thy servant Bel-ibnî! May Ašur, Šamaš, and Marduk decree length of days, health of mind and body, for the lord of kings, my lord!

Šumâ, the son of Šum-iddina, son of Gakhal—son of Tammaritu's sister—fleeing from Elam, reached the (country of the) Dakkhâ. I took him under my protection and transferred him from the Dakkhâ (hither). He is ill. As soon as he completely recovers his health, I shall send him to the king, my lord.

A messenger has come to him (with the news) that Nadân and the Pukudeans of Til. . . .[1] had a meeting with Nabû-bel-šumâte at the city of Targibâti, and they took a mutual oath to this effect: "According to agreement we shall send you whatever news we may hear." To bind the bargain(?) they purchased from him fifty head of cattle, and also said to him: "Our sheep shall come and graze in the pasture(?), among the Ubanateans, in order that you may have confidence in us." Now (I should advise that) a messenger of my lord the king come, and give Nadân plainly to understand as follows: If thou sendest anything to Elam for sale, or if a single sheep gets over to the Elamite pasture (?), I will not let thee live." The king my lord may thoroughly rely upon my report.

[1] Apparently a compound name like Til-Khumba; cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 323, 325.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana bel šarrâni beliḫa* [2]*ardúka Bel-ibnî!*

[3]*Ašur, Šamaš, u Marduk* [4]*arâku ûme ṭûb libbi*[5] *u ṭûb šîri ša bel šarrâni* [6]*beliḫa liqbû!*

Šumâ [7]*mârušu ša Šum-iddina, mâr Gaxal—*[8]*mâr axâtišu ša Tammariti—*[9]*ultu mât Elamti kî* [10]*ixliqu adî Daxxa'* [11]*ittalka. Ultu Daxxa'* [12]*qâtsu kî açbata,* [13]*ultebirâšu.*

Maruç. [14]*Adî zîmešu malâ* [15]*içâbatu, ana šarri* [16]*beliḫa ašaparâšu.* [17]*Apil šipri ibâšu ša Nadân* [18]*u Puqûdu,* (Rev.) [19]*ša ina âl Til*[....], [20]*ana pân Nabû-bel-šumâte* [21]*ana âl Targibâti ittalkû.* [22]*Šumu ili ana axâmeš* [23]*ultelû, umma: "Kî adî* [24]*ṭemu mala nišemû,* [25]*nišaparáka." U, ana* [26]*idatûtu, alpe* L KU [27]*ana kasp î ina qâtišu itabkûni.* [28]*U iqtabâni-šu umma:* [29]*"Immereni lillikûní-ma,* [30]*ina libbi. "*[31]*Uba'ânat* [32]*ina sâdu likulû, ina libbi* [33]*ana muxxini taráxuç."*

[34]*Ennâ! Apil šipri ša šarri beliḫa* [35]*lilliká-ma, ina birit* [36]*îni ša Nadân lâmandid* [37]*umma: "Kî manma ana maxîri* [38]*ana mât Elamti taltapra,* [39]*u ištен immeru* [40]*ana sâdu ša mât Elamti* [41]*ipterku,* (Edge) [42]*ul uballaṭka."*

Dibbe ka'âmânûtu [43]*ana šarri beliḫa altapra.*

2.

K 13.

This letter is published in Assyrian transcription in the first edition of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv (pl. 52, no. 2), and in the original cursive Babylonian character in the second edition of that work (pl. 45, no. 2). Lines 1–13 are published with transliteration and translation in George Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 197 ff.

The situation would seem to have been as follows: Tammaritu, king of Elam, having been dethroned in the year 650 B. C. by Indabigaš, who made himself king in his stead, made his escape to the coast of the Persian Gulf, accompanied by his family and adherents, among whom were included many high officers of state. Embarking there, he reached the Babylonian shore, whence the whole party was forwarded to the Assyrian court by Bel-ibnî, who had been recently appointed governor of the Gulf District. (See above, p. 137.) On being admitted to an audience with the Assyrian monarch, Tammaritu humiliated himself before him, and besought his aid in recovering his lost kingdom. (Tiele, pp. 380, 381.) In the meantime Nabû-bel-šumâte, grandson of the Chaldean king of Babylon, Merodach-baladan, had thrown off the authority of Assyria and withdrawn to Elam, taking with him as

captives certain Assyrians who had been detailed, ostensibly to aid in the defense of his dominions, but in reality, doubtless, to protect Assyrian interests there. Sardanapallus demanded the release of the prisoners and the surrender of Nabû-bel-šumâte, the perpetrator of the outrage, threatening, in case of a refusal to comply with his demand, to invade Elam, depose Indabigaš, and place Tammaritu on the throne. Before this message reached its destination, however, the Elamite monarch had been deposed by a revolution, and Ummanaldaš made king in his stead (*Ašurb.*, iv. 114, 115; Cyl. B. vii. 71–87; Cyl. C. vii. 88–115; *K. B.*, ii. pp. 266 ff.). The latter would seem, according to our report (ll. 23–31), to have been inclined to accept the terms of the king of Assyria, but to have lacked the power. Elam was accordingly invaded, and Ummanaldaš, unable to make effective resistance, abandoned his capital, Madâktu, and took refuge in the mountains, leaving the way clear for his rival Tammaritu, who was, with little or no resistance, established on the throne as a vassal of Assyria (*Ašurb.*, iv. 110–v. 22). But the new king, proving ungrateful and rebellious, was soon deposed; Elam was again invaded; and the troops of Sardanapallus, after ravaging the country, returned home laden with spoil (*Ašurb.*, v. 23–62). Ummanaldaš now quietly resumed his kingdom, but was not long allowed to remain undisturbed. Sardanapallus again made preparation for an invasion, and Ummanaldaš, on the approach of the invading forces, once more left Madâktu, and endeavored to make head against his enemies in the regions beyond the river Id'id'e (*Ašurb.*, v. 66–75). It is to this juncture of affairs that the report refers. It may be translated as follows:

Translation.

To the lord of kings, my lord, thy servant Bel-ibnî! May Ašur, Šamaš, and Marduk grant health of mind and body, long life, and a lengthy reign to the lord of kings, my lord!

The news from Elam is as follows: Ummakhaldaš, the former king, who fled, but returned again and seated himself upon the throne, has become alarmed and left the city of Madâktu. His mother, his wife, his sons, and all his family having removed, he crossed the river Ulæus, and went southward (?) to Talakh. The *Nâgir* Ummansimaš, Undadu the *Zilliru*, and all his partisans have gone in the direction of Šukharisungur, now saying: "We will dwell in the Khukhan country," and now again "in Kha'âdâlu."[1]

All these parts are in terror; for the troops of the lord of kings, my lord, have brought panic into Elam, and spread abroad calamity like a plague. When need came upon their land, the whole country fell away from their side. All the Dakkhadeans and the Sallukkeans are in

[1] In their irresolution they were unable to form a decided and consistent plan.

a state of revolt, saying: "Why did ye slay Umkhulumâ?" When Ummakhaldaš entered Madâktu, calling together all his partisans, he upbraided them as follows: "Did I not say to you before I fled that I wished to seize Nabû-bel-šumâte and give him up to the king of Assyria, in order that he might not send his troops against us? You heard me, and can bear witness to my words."

Now, if it please the lord of kings, my lord, let me (privately) convey the royal signet to Ummakhaldaš, with reference to the capture of Nabû-bel-šumâte. I shall send it to Ummakhaldaš as a guarantee (?). If my lord the king should think, They are .... I shall send my message to them for a guarantee (?), (I would suggest that) when the royal messenger reaches them accompanied by an escort of troops, that accursed scoundrel Nabû-bel-šumâte will hear of it, and, paying a ransom to the nobles, will buy himself off. If the gods of the lord of kings, my lord, would only bestir themselves, they would catch him with his bow unstrung, and send him to the lord of kings, my lord.

They collect all the tax corn (?) in Elam, and, putting it in charge of the *šarnuppu*,[1] they live on it. As long as Umkhulumâ was alive, Nabû-bel-šumâte, on receiving his share, would lavish it upon his partisans. This tax corn (?), in charge of the *šarnuppu*, they levy from Talakh as far as Radê, and throughout the country of Salluk. Now, Nabû-bel-šumâte, and Niskhur-bel, his major-domo, whenever they catch a *šarnuppu*, seize him, saying: "Whenever you applied to Umkhulumâ for our provisions, he used to give them to you. You have slain the people of our house with famine. You shall straightway restore to us our stolen provisions, at the rate of ten *bar* for one *qa*." (?) They withhold it from Ummakhaldaš, and, though he has applied (?) for it repeatedly, he cannot get it from them. Whenever I hear anything which the lord of kings, my lord, would wish to hear, ...

The few remaining lines are too badly mutilated for translation.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1][*Ana bel šarrâni, beli*]*ia, ardúka Bel-ibnî!*

[2][*Ašur, Šamaš, u Marduk*] *ṭûbi libbi, ṭûbi šîri,* [3][*arâku ûme*], *labâr pale ana bel šarrâni,* [4]*beliia, liqîšâ! Ṭemu ša mât Elamti:*

[5]*Ummaxaldâšu, šarru maxrû ša ixliqa* [6]*itûrá-ma ina kussî âšîbu,* [7]*kî iplaxu, âl Madâkti undêšer.* [8]*Ummušu, aššatsu, mârešu, u qinnâšu gabbi* [9]*kî ikmisû, nâr Ulâ'a, ana šupâl šâru,* [10]*etébir, ana âl Tulax ittalka. Nâgiru* [11]*Ummanšimaš, Undadu zilliru,* [12]*u bel ṭâbâtešu, mala ibâšû,* [13]*ittalkû pânišunu ana âl Šuxarisungur* [14]*šaknû. Iqábû ummakî: "Ina Xuxân,"* [15]*u kî "Ina âl Xa'âdâlu nuššab."*

[1] An Elamite official title.

[16]*Agâ gabbi ina puluxti, ša emûqu ša bel* [17]*šarrâni beliia mât Elamti kîma de'i xurruru* [18]*marušti iparrû, puluxti ulteribû;* [19]*u, itti sunqu ina mâtišunu ittaškin,* [20]*mâtsunu gabbi ina kutallišunu muššurat.* [21]*Daxxadî'û'â, Sallukki'â gabbi* [22]*sixû šunûtu, umma: "Minâ-ma Umxulumâ'* [23]*tadûkâ."*

Ûmu ša Ummaxaldâšu ana âl Madâktu [24]*erubu, bel ṭâbâtešu gabbi kî upaxxir,* [25]*dîni ittišunu iddébub, umma:* [26]*"Ul agâ'a amât ša, adî lâ axâliqu,* [27]*aqbâkunâšu, umma: "Nabû-bel-šumâte* [28]*luçbat-ma, ana šar mât Aššur luddin,* [29]*emûqešu ana muxxini lâ išâpar?—*[30]*Ta(?)tašmâ'inni, ina muxxi amâtia* [31]*tattašizzâ'." Ennâ! kî* [32]*pân bel šarrâni, beliia, maxru, unqu šarri* [33]*ana muxxi çabâta Nabû-bel-šumâte* [34]*ana pân Ummaxaldâšu lušebiluni-ma.* [35]*Anâku paširâti ana Ummaxaldâšu* [36]*lušebilšu. Nindema šarru beliia iqâbî umma:* [37]*"Šunu tullummâ'u: šipirtâ paširâti* [38]*ana pânišunu ašâpar." Kî apil šipri ša šarri beliia, ina qât dîkîtu,* [39]*ana pânišunu ittalka, sikipti Bel Nabû-bel-šumâte* [40]*išémî-ma, tapšuru ana rubešu igâmar-ma,* [41]*râmânšu itter. Nindema ilâni ša bel šarrâni, beliia,* [42]*ippušû-ma, ina qašti ramîti içabatû-ma, ana* [43]*bel šarrâni, beliia, išâparâni-šu.*

Še' šibši [44]*ša mât Elamti gabbi upaxxarû-ma, ana parâsu* [45]*ša šarnuppu inamdinû ina libbi balṭû.* [46]*Ultu Umxulumâ' balṭu, Nabû-bel-šumâte,* [47]*bâbšu kî içbatu, ana bel ṭâbâtešu iddur.* [48]*Še' agâ ša šibši, parâsu ša šarnuppu,* [49]*ultu âl Talax adî âl Rade u* [50]*Sallukki'â gabbi ittanaššû.* [51]*Ennâ! Šarnuppi gabbi kî ilmûni,* [52]*Nabû-bel-šumâte u Nisxur-Bel rab bîtišu* [53]*içabtû, umma: "Ana muxxi kurummâtini ana* [54]*Umxalumâ' kî tuše'idâ, kurummâtani* [55]*iddanakunâšu; Nîše bîtini ina bûbâtâ* [56]*tadûkâ. Ennâ! ana* I. QA. A. AN. X. BAR. A. AN. [57]*kurûmâtani ša mašâ' tamâxarâni-ma* [58]*tanamdinânâšu."* *Itti Ummaxaldâšu* [59]*ušazzûšu;* II-*šu* III-*šu kî uše'iduš,* [60]*ina qâtišunu ul iteršu.*

Kî amât ša ana çibâtu [61]*bel šarrâni, beliia, axtassu, ul kirbiku-ma* [62] ..... *ul ušašmâ. Kalbi râ'imu* [63] ..... *mala tallaka ana ekalli* [64] ..... *bel šarrâni, beliia ana* [65] ..... *lâ išâkan.*

The fate of Nabû-bel-šumâte is known to us from the historical inscriptions. Shortly after the events narrated above, Elam was overrun by the Assyrian troops, its ancient capital Susa was captured and sacked, and, driven at length to despair, the gallant Chaldean and his armor-bearer slew each other to avoid falling alive into the hands of the implacable Assyrian monarch. Ummanaldaš, who had taken refuge in the mountains, sent the

body of the rebel to Sardanapallus, who satisfied his vengeance by heaping insults upon the corpse of his life-long enemy (*Ašurb.*, vii. 16–50). Thus ended the line of Merodach-baladan, which for three generations had offered a stubborn resistance to the might of the Assyrian empire.

3.

K 10.

Bel-ibnî's nephew Mušêzib-Marduk seems to have been regarded with special favor by King Sardanapallus, and, though nowhere qualified as *manzaz pâni*, had, as we are informed in a letter from the king to his general, always been honored with ready admission to the monarch's presence (*B. A.*, i. p. 236, ll. 7, 8). Kudurru, the loyal governor of Erech, thus refers to him in a letter to the king: "Mušêzib-Marduk, sister's son of Bel-ibnî, who has several times presented himself before my lord the king on errands of Bel-ibnî, has been entrusted with (this affair) by Bel-ibnî. The officers in charge of the gates inform him that these people are not well disposed towards my lord's house, and that it will not be well to let them come over here. They will give information to Elam in regard to the country of my lord the king; and in case a famine should occur in Elam, will supply provisions there" (K 1066, Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, ii. p. 38, ll. 20–30). Unfortunately, the name of the people about whom Mušêzib-Marduk thus reports is broken away, but they must have been a tribe living on Elamite territory near the Assyrian border.

The following letter, K 10, is published in Pinches' *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-Writing*, p. 6, and contains a report from Bel-ibnî to the king concerning a successful raid into Elam under command of Mušêzib-Marduk.[1] Lines 15–25 of the reverse, conveying the latest news received from Elam, are published with transliteration and translation in George Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 248. Smith (p. 254) was inclined to identify Ummanigaš son of Amedirra with Ummanigaš son of Umbadara, whose statue was conveyed to Assyria by Sardanapallus at the time of the sacking of Susa (*Ašurb.*, vi. 52); but this is hardly possible. The royal images removed from Susa would seem rather to have been those of the more ancient kings of Elam, and it is much more likely that Ummanigaš son of Umbadara was the monarch who, according to the Babylonian Chronicle (i. 9), ascended the throne in the year 742 B. C.

Tiele's conjecture (*Babyl.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 399, n. 1) is much more probable. After the overthrow of Elam and the sacking of Susa, Ummanaldaš continued for some time to rule

[1] Cf. Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, p. 46.

over his shattered kingdom, until finally, overthrown by a revolution, he was captured by the successful rebels, sent to Assyria, and handed over to Sardanapallus, who treated him in a most humiliating manner. Along with other captive princes, he was harnessed to a car, and forced to draw it through the streets of Nineveh in the triumphal procession of his conqueror (*Ašurb.*, x. 6 ff.). This revolution, so disastrous for the unfortunate Ummanaldaš, Tiele is inclined to identify with the revolt of Ummanigaš son of Amedirra, mentioned in the present text. It is entirely possible, however, that some other rebellion, not mentioned in the historical inscriptions, is here recorded. The text may be translated as follows:

TRANSLATION.

To the lord of kings, my lord, thy servant Bel-ibnî!

May Ašur, Šamaš, and Marduk bestow health of mind, health of body, length of days, long years of reign, upon the lord of kings, the king of the world, my lord!

When I left the Gulf District, I sent five hundred soldiers, servants of my lord the king, to the city of Sabdânu, with these orders: "Establish a post (?) in Sabdânu, and make raids into Elam; slay and take prisoners!" When they reached the city of Irgidu, a city lying two leagues this side of Susa, they slew Ammaladin,[1] Prince of Iaši'an,[2] his two brothers, three of his uncles, two of his nephews, Dalân son of Adiadî'a, and two hundred free-born citizens—they had a long journey before them—and made one hundred and fifty prisoners. The authorities of Lakhiru and the people of Nugû', when they saw that my troops had got to their rear, becoming alarmed, sent a message, and entered into terms with Mušêzib-Marduk, my sister's son, a servant of my lord the king, whom I had placed in command of the post (?), saying: "We will become subjects of the king of Assyria." So, assembling all their force, they marched with Mušêzib-Marduk into Elam .....[3] They bring (?) the following report from Elam. Ummanigaš son of Amedirra has revolted against Ummakhaldaš. From the river Khudkhud as far as the city of Kha'âdânu the people have sided with him. Ummakhaldaš has assembled his forces, and now they are encamped opposite each other on the banks of the river. Iqîša-aplu, whom I have sent to the palace, is well informed about them. Let him be questioned at the palace.

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[1] This name recalls Ammuladi(n), sheikh of the Kedarenes, who was conquered by Sardanapallus in his campaign against Arabia (*Ašurb.*, viii. 15).

[2] For the name of this district, cf. Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, p. 47, n. 1. In the Prism-inscription of Sennacherib (col. v. l. 32), the region is called *Ias'an*, Assyrian *s* representing foreign *š*.

[3] The text is here too badly mutilated for translation.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana bel šarrâni, beliia, ardúka* [2]*Bel-ibnî!*

Ašur, Šamaš, u Marduk ṭûbi libbi, [3]*ṭûbi šîri, arâku ûme, u labâr* [4]*pale ana bel šarrâni, šar mâtâti, beliia* [5]*liqîšâ!*

Ûmu ša ultu mât Tâmti[m] [6]*uçâ'* VC *çâbe, ardâni ša šarri beliia,* [7]*ana âl Çabdânu altapra, umma:* [8]"*Kâdu ina âl Çabdânu uçrâ, u* [9]*tibânu ina mât Elamti tebâ'.* [10]*dîkti dûkâ u xubtu* [11]*xubtânu.*" *Ana muxxi âl Irgidu—*[12]*âlu šû* II *kasbu qaqqar ana axû agâ* [13]*šâ âl Šušân—kî itbû, Ammaladin* [14]*nasîku ša Iâši'ân,* II *axešu,* [15]III *axe abišu,* II *mâre axišu, Dalân* [16]*mâr Adiadî'a, u* IIC *mâre-banûti* [17]*ša âli idûkû—qaqqar ina pânišunu* [18]*rûqu—xubte* CL [19]*ixtabtâni. Nasîkâti* [20]*šâ âl Laxiru u Nugâ',* [21]*ultu muxxi ša emurû-ma* [22]*xiiâlâniia ana axišunu* [23]*ullî itteníbû* [24]*kî iplaxû, pîšunu* [25]*iddánûnu, ade itti* (Rev.) [1]*Mušezib-Marduk mâr axtâiia, ardu ša* [*šarri*] [2]*beliia, ša ina muxxi kâ*[*du*] [3]*apqidu, iççabtâ umma:* "*Ard*[*âni*] [4]*ša šar mât Aššur ânîni.*" *qaštašunu* [5]*mala ibášû kî idkû,* [6]*itti Mušezib-Marduk . . . . a-ni,* [7]*ina mât Elamti it*[*bûni*] . . . . . *u,* [8]*qâtšunu ana lib*[*bi . . . . . .*] MEŠ-*šunu* [9]*ittadû . . . . . tišunu,* [10]*ša ina qât Iqîša-aplu . . . . .* [*Mušezib*]-*Marduk,* [11]*ardu ša šarri beli*[*ia . . . . . .*]*ni* [12]*ina muxxi kâ*[*du*] . . . . . [13]*iqridânu . . . . . ti,* [14]*ša usebilû*[*ni* (?)*ana šarri beliia*(?)*al*]*tapra.*

[15]*Ṭemu ša mât Elamti iqâ*(?)*bû-ma* [16]*umma:*—

Ummanigaš apil Amedirra [17]*sîxu ana muxxi Ummaxaldâšu* [18]*etépuš. Ultu nâr Xudxud* [19]*adî âl Xa'âdânu ittišu* [20]*ittašizzû. Ummaxaldâšu,* [21]*emûqešu kî upaxxir,* [22]*adû ina muxxi nâri ana tarçi* [23]*axameš nadû.*

Iqîša-aplu, [24]*ša ana Ekalli ašpura, ṭenšunu* [25]*xariç. Ina ekalli liš'alšu.*

4.

K 528.

Urtaku, King of Elam, who ascended the throne in the year 675 B. C., maintained friendly relations with Assyria during the lifetime of Esarhaddon; and the latter's son and successor, Sardanapallus, endeavored to preserve this state of affairs. When a famine broke out in Elam, the Assyrian monarch sent grain for the relief of the distressed people, protected those Elamites who had taken refuge on Assyrian territory, and restored them to their country when the long drought was over and the land was once more productive (*K. B.*, ii. p. 244). But Chaldean influence, ever hostile to Assyria, had become powerful at the court of Susa.

Urtaku allowed himself to be swayed by it, and, apparently without warning, marched against Babylon. Sardanapallus, though taken by surprise, lost no time in marching to the relief of the threatened city, signally defeated Urtaku, and compelled him to retire to Elam, where he soon after died. Among the Chaldeans who took part in this affair was Bel-iqîša, prince of Gambûlu, a marshy district of southeastern Babylonia about the mouth of the river Uknû, the modern Karoon,[1] and bordering upon Elam. Bel-iqîša, who was an Assyrian subject, cast off his allegiance, and, crossing over into Elam, joined Urtaku and took part in his ill-fated expedition. In the following year he was accidentally killed (*K. B.*, ii. p. 244, ll. 56–58). His son and successor, Dunânu, bitterly hostile to Assyria, allied himself with Teumman, the successor of Urtaku, and on the defeat and death of his Elamite ally, his land was ravaged, its inhabitants put to the sword, and he himself with all his family carried captive to Assyria. Here he was forced to take part in the conqueror's triumphal entry into Nineveh, with the head of the slain Teumman hanging to his neck, and was finally put to death with frightful tortures (*Ašurb.*, iv. 50 ff.; *K. B.*, ii. pp. 254–256).

Nabû-ušabšî, the writer of the two letters translated below, was an Assyrian official of Erech in Southern Babylonia. He seems to have suffered severely from the revolt of Bel-iqîša, and his advice in regard to the reduction of Gambûlu was doubtless in full accord with his personal feelings, which, indeed, he is at no pains to conceal. His letter which is published in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv., pl. 47, no. 2 (2d ed.), may be translated as follows:[2]

TRANSLATION.

To the king of the world, my lord, thy servant Nabû-ušabšî!

May Erech and E-anna bless the king of the world, my lord! I pray daily to Ištar of Erech and to Nanâ for the life of the king, my lord.

The king, my lord, has sent me (this message): "Put troops on the march, and send them against Gambûlu." (Now) the gods of the king, my lord, know well that since Bel-iqîša revolted from my lord the king, and went to Elam, destroyed my father's house, and came to slay my brother, daily[3] . . . . . With regard to what the king, my lord, has

[1] See Haupt, Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 114, p. 111b. The river of Balakhshân referred to by Ibn Batûtah in the passage quoted by Prof. Haupt is, according to Haupt, the Koktcha (i. e. "Blue River," كوك چاى), a tributary of the Oxus (Amoo-Darya).

[2] This text is also published, with transliteration, translation, and notes, by Pinches in *TSBA.*, vi. pp. 228 ff.

[3] For the next five lines the text is almost entirely obliterated, but probably contained the statement that the writer prays daily for revenge upon those who have thus injured him.

sent (to command), I will go and carry out the behest of my lord the king. In case (however) the inhabitants of Gambûlu will not become submissive by these means, (then) if it be agreeable to my lord the king, let an envoy of my lord the king come ; let us assemble all Babylonia ; and let us go with him, win back the country, and give it to my lord the king.

I send (my advice) to my lord the king, let my lord the king do as he pleases. Preserve this letter.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šar mâtâti, beliia,* [2]*ardúka Nabû-ušabši!*

[3]*Uruk u E-anna* [4]*ana šar mâtâti, beliia, likrubû!*

[5]*Ûmussu Ištar Uruk* [6]*u Nanâ ana balâṭ napšâte* [7]*ša šarri beliia uçallû!*

Ša šarru belû'a [8]*išpura, umma:* "*Xi'lânu* [9]*tušaçbat-ma, ana muxxi âl Gambûlu* [10]*tašâpar.*" *Ilâni ša šarri beliia* [11]*lû îdû kî ultu muxxi* [12]*ša Bel-iqîša ina qât šarri beliia* [13]*ikkiru, mât Elamti ildudâ-ma,* [14]*bît abiia ixpû, u ina pâni* [15]*dâku ša axiia illiku,* [16]*ûmussu Šamaš lâ u* . . . . . [lines 17–20 are broken away] . . . . . (Rev.) [21]*Ennâ! ša šarru belû'a iš*[*puráni*] [22]*attallak u našpartu* [23]*ša šarri beliia ušal*[*lam*]. [24]*Immatêma libbû agâ* [25]*âšib ina âl Gambûlu* [26]*ul ibalû, kî pâni* [27]*šarri beliia maxru, apil šipri* [28]*ša šarri beliia lilliká-ma* [29]*mât Akkadî gabbi nipxur-ma,* [30]*ittišu nillik-ma, mâti* [31]*nuterá-ma ana šarri beliia* [32]*niddin.*

Ana šarri beliia [33]*altapra, šarru belû'a,* [34]*kî ša ilâ'u* [35]*lîpuš. Egirtu annîtu uçri.*

5.

K 79.

The following letter, also from Nabû-ušabši, is published in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv., pl. 46, no. 3 (2d ed.), and is translated by Pinches in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vi. pp. 239 ff. It contains an account of the practices of a certain Pir'i-Bel and his father Bel-eṭêr, who seem to have been Chaldean conspirators, engaged in fomenting strife between Elam and Assyria. A Bel-eṭêr, son of Nabû-šum-erêš, was carried captive to Nineveh with Dunânu, prince of Gambûlu, and he and his brother Nabû-nâ'id were there forced to desecrate the bones of their father, who had been largely instrumental in inducing Urtaku to commence hostilities against Babylonia (*K. B.*, ii. p. 258, ll. 84–91). If this was the Bel-eṭêr mentioned by Nabû-ušabši, the source of his enmity to Assyria may be readily understood, and, in this case, the letter must be referred to a later date than the preceding one (K 528).

On the other hand, it is quite possible that the similarity of names is merely a coincidence, and the events here narrated may have preceded the revolt of Bel-iqîša and the invasion of Urtaku. Kudurru, who is mentioned below, was doubtless the governor of Erech referred to above in connection with Bel-ibnî. The letter may be rendered as follows :

TRANSLATION.

To the king of the world, my lord, thy servant Nabû-ušabšî !

May Erech and E-anna be gracious to the king of the world, my lord ! I pray daily to Ištar of Erech and to Nanâ for the life of my lord the king.

Pir'i-Bel, son of Bel-eṭêr, with his father, having gone forth to Elam some ten years ago, came from Elam to Babylonia with his father. Having come (hither), they practiced in Erech all that was evil towards Assyria. Having subsequently retired to Elam, his father, Bel-eṭêr, died in Elam, and he in the month of Marcheshvan, having brought letters to me and to ..... the governor, we sent(?) the letters which he brought by Dâru-šarru to (?) .....[1] ..... If he tell the king, my lord, "I am come from Elam," let not the king, my lord, believe him. From the month of Marcheshvan, when we sent to my lord the king the letters he brought, until the present time he has not been to Elam. Should the king, my lord, desire confirmation of these words, Idû'a, the servant of Kudurru, who (brought ?) to Erech these reports about him(?) .....[2] let these men tell my lord the king how these treasonable letters were written, and if my lord the king does not understand about these letters which we sent in Marcheshvan to my lord the king by Dâru-šarru, let my lord the king question Dâru-šarru the satellite. I send to my lord in order that he may be informed.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šar mâtâte, beliia,* [2]*ardúka Nabû-ušabší !*

[3]*Uruk u E-anna ana šar mâtâte* [4]*beliia likrubû !*

Ûmussu [5]*Ištar, Uruk, u Nanâ* [6]*ana balâṭ napšâte ša šarri beliiá-ma* [7]*uçallî !*

Pir'i-Bel, apilšu ša Bel-eṭêr, [8]*šanâte agâ* x *ultu bîd ana* [9]*mât Elamti šâ u abišu ûçû,* [10]*ultu mât Elamti ana mât Akkadî* [11]*illikûni, šû u abišu.* [12]*Kî illikûni, mimma ša ana* [13]*muxxi mât Aššur bîšu ina Uruk* [14]*êtepšû. Arkâniš, ana mât Elamti* [15]*kî ixxisû, Bel-eṭêr abušu* [16]*ina mât Elamti mîtu,* [17]*u šû ina libbi*

[1] The text is here completely broken away. The translation is resumed at line 10 of the reverse.

[2] The text is here very uncertain.

Araxšâmna šipireti [18]*ana pâniia u ana pâni* . . . . . [19]*paxâti kî iššû, ši*[*pire*]*ti* [20][*ša iš*]*š*|*â' ina qât Dâru*-[*šarru*] . . . . . [From obverse l. 20 to reverse l. 7, the text is destroyed]. . . . . (Rev.) . . . . . [1]*enna išten qallu ša* . . . . . [2]*ittišu ana Uruk ilta* . . . . . [3]*Mandêma ana šarri beliia iqâbî,* [4]*umma: "Ultu mât Elamti attalka,"* [5]*šarru belû'a la iqâpšu. Ultu bîd ina Araxšâmna* [7]*šipirêti iššû-ma ana šarri beliia* [8]*nušebila adî ša enna ana mât Elamti* [9]*ul ixxis. Kî šarru belû'a xarâçu* [10]*ša dibbe agâ çibû, ana Idû'a* [11]*qallu ša Kudurra ša ana Uruk* [12]*dibbešu* (?) *agâ idatsu** . . . . . [13]*šunûti-ma šipirêti* [14]*agâ ša šârâte kî ša šaṭrâ* [15]*ana šarri beliia liqbû, u kî* [16]*ša šipirêti agâ, ša ina libbi Araxšâmna* [17]*ina qât Dâru-šarru ana šarri beliia* [18]*nušebila, šarru belû'a lâ xassu,* [19]*Dâru-šarru mutîr-pûtu šarru* [20]*belû'a liš'al. Ana šarri beliia* [21]*altapra, šarru belû'a lû îdî.*

Another letter from Nabû-ušabšî to the king (K 514) is published, with transliteration, translation, commentary, and additional notes, by Pinches, in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, iii. pp. 59–62, 105, 106; compare also Bezold's *Cat. of the K Collection*, p. 120. The mutilation of lines 14–17 somewhat obscures the sense; but the latter refers chiefly to horses—some of which appear to have been presented to the goddess Ištar of Erech by the King of Elam—purchased for the king of Assyria by Nabû-ušabšî, who promises to forward vouchers for the expense incurred.

6.

K 824.

K 824 is published with transliteration, translation, and commentary in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, ii. pp. 63–67. Sin-tabnî-uçur ("Sin protect my offspring"), to whom it is addressed, was the son of Ningal-iddina ("Ningal has given"), and was governor of Ur, in Southern Babylonia, during the rebellion of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, king of Babylon and brother of Sardanapallus. Kudurru, governor of Erech, writes to King Sardanapallus that he has received a message from Sin-tabnî-uçur to the effect that an emissary of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, engaged in disseminating revolution through the country, has approached him with the view of engaging him in the treasonable design; that a portion of the district under his authority has already revolted; and that unless reinforcements be promptly sent he has the gravest fears for the result. Kudurru, in answer to this urgent appeal,

* The text of line 18, and of the opening words of line 19, is very uncertain. See Part II.

has sent a force to his assistance (K 5457; Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, ii. p. 55, ll. 6 ff.). According to Geo. Smith (*Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 201), followed by Tiele (*Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.*, pp. 377, 381), Sin-tabnî-uçur, unable to hold out until the arrival of these reinforcements, was constrained against his will to join the rebels.

The evidence that he did so, however, is by no means conclusive. His name is mentioned, it is true, in connection with that of Šamaš-šum-ukîn in two extracts from so-called omen-tablets published in Geo. Smith's work (pp. 184, 185); but the context is in both instances obscure, owing to mutilation of the text, and his participation in the rebellion, of which there is no other evidence, is merely an inference derived from the juxtaposition of the two names. Both these tablets would seem, however, to belong to the class of texts so ably illustrated in Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, containing requests for information addressed to the oracles of the gods. It was by no means unusual to consult the oracle in this way with reference to an official, especially when recently appointed, or when about to be entrusted with some important commission; and several instances are given in Knudtzon's work (cf. e. g. nos. 67, 112, 114, 115). Now the first of the above mentioned tablets (K 4696), dated in the month of Ab, 651 B. C., contains the words, "Sin-tabnî-uçur, son of Ningal-iddina, who has been appointed governor of Ur" (literally, "over Ur"), which would seem to indicate that his appointment was recent; while in the second (K 28), dated in the preceding month of Tammuz, his name occurs without mention of Ur. It seems likely, therefore, that he was appointed governor of Ur in the month of Ab, 651, and that both tablets contain inquiries, addressed to the oracle, with reference to his probable conduct towards Šamaš-šum-ukîn, who was at that time in open rebellion. Unfortunately, both texts are badly mutilated, and only portions of them are published; but, in the absence of other evidence, the participation of Sin-tabnî-uçur in the great revolt can hardly be regarded as an established fact.

The letter here translated (K 824) was probably written some time before these events. Ummanigaš, mentioned in it as one of the calumniators of Sin-tabnî-uçur, was one of the three sons of Urtaku who took refuge at the Assyrian court when their father was dethroned and murdered by his brother Teumman. With the aid of Assyrian troops furnished by Sardanapallus, he defeated Teumman, who was slain in the battle, and Ummanigaš thus became king of Elam; but he was subsequently so ungrateful as to ally himself with Šamaš-šum-ukîn. In 651 or 650 B. C., he was, in his turn, deposed and slain by his brother Tammaritu, who after a brief reign was, in the year 650 B. C., deposed by Indabigaš, and with difficulty made his escape to Babylonia, whence, as already narrated, he was sent on to Assyria by Bel-ibnî, governor of the Gulf District. It was probably while residing at the Assyrian court, or at least prior to his alliance with the rebellious brother

of Sardanapallus, that he endeavored to cast suspicion on the loyalty of Sin-tabnî-uçur. His accusations were not listened to by the king, who expresses the highest regard for, and the utmost confidence in, the integrity of his servant. The text may be translated as follows:

TRANSLATION.

Message of the King to Sin-tabnî-uçur. It is well with me; may thy heart be of good cheer!

With reference to thy message about Sin-šarra-uçur, how could he speak evil words of thee, and I listen to them? Since Šamaš perverted his understanding,[1] and Ummanigaš slandered thee before me, they have sought thy death, but Ašur my god withholds me (from that), and not willingly could I have put to death my servant and the support of my father's house. No!—for thou wouldst (be willing to) perish along with thy lord's house—(never) could I consent to that. He and Ummanigaš have plotted thy destruction, but because I know thy loyalty I have conferred even greater favor (than before) upon thee; is it not so? These two years thou hast not brought foe and need upon thy lord's house.[2] What could they say against a servant who loves his lord's house, that I could believe? And with regard to the service which thou and thy brother Assyrians have rendered, about which thou sendest (word), all that (?) ye have done, the guard for me which ye have kept[3] ..... and this ..... which is most honorable in my sight, and a favor which I shall requite to thee till (the times of our) children's children.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1] *Amât šarri ana Sin-tabnî-uçur!*

[2] *Šulmu ḫâši, libbaka* [3] *lâ ṭâbka!*

[4] *Ina muxxi Sin-šarra-uçur* [5] *ša tašpur, minâma dibbeka* [6] *bîšâtu iqabâ-ma* [7] *u anâku ašemîš?*

[8] *Ištu Šamaš libbašu issuxa* [9] *u Ummanigaš qarçeka* [10] *ina pâniḫa ekulu, ana* [11] *dâki iddinâka.* [12] *U Ašur ilaniḫâ* [13] *urâqani-ma* [14] *šuxdû-ma arda'a* [15] *u išdu ša bît abiḫa* [16] *lâ adâku.* [17] *Ul—ina libbi ša itti* [18] *bît belika* [19] *qatâta* (Rev.) [20] *lâmur agâ. Šû u* [21] *Ummanigaš ana muxxi* [22] *dâkika ilmû,* [23] *u, ina libbi ša kenûtka* [24] *îdû, uttîr remu* [25] *aškunâka—ḫânû?*

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[1] The meaning is that he must be out of his senses to make such accusations.

[2] Although in that time he had ample opportunity to do so.

[3] Text mutilated.

[28]*Šanîta agâ šanâte* [27]*nakru u bubûti* [26]*ina muxxi bît belika* [25]*ul tašdud. Minâ* [24]*iqabûní-ma ina muxxi* [23]*ardi ša bît belišu irâmu* [22]*u anâku aqîpu'?*

[21]*U ina muxxi dulla ša atta u* [20]*Aššurâ axeka* [19]*tepušâ', ša tašpur,* [18]*ban ša tepušâ',* [17]*maççartâ'a ša taççu*[rû']. [16]AB. AN. AN. . . . . , (Edge) [15]*u* MU. GA *agâ, ša ina pâniia banû, u ṭâbâte* [14]*ša utâráka ana libbi ša ana mâr mâre.*

7.

K 469.

This letter, published in Harper's *Letters of the K Collection*, No. 138, carries us back to an earlier period than those treated above. The writer, Ša-Ašur-dubbu, was governor of the important city and district of Tuškhan, on the easterly course of the northwestern bend of the Tigris, which had been a possession of Assyria since at least 880 B. C., and in all probability much earlier (Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.*, pp. 180, 181). In 707 B. C., the sixteenth year of the reign of Šargon, the conqueror of Samaria, Ša-Ašur-dubbu gave his name to the year as Eponym, a fact which marks him as a magnate of the highest order (*K. B.*, i. pp. 207, 214). In another letter (K 1067 ; Harper, No. 139), which is unfortunately so mutilated that the context cannot be made out with certainty, he mentions the city of Penzâ, the king of the Armenian district Urartu, and a certain Khutešub. The latter, for whose name the reading Bagtišub is with great probability suggested by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns (*PSBA.*, xvii. p. 234), appears in Harper's work (No. 215=K 1037) as the author of a report, also badly mutilated, with reference to the neighboring countries of Urartu, Man, and Zikirtu, against which king Šargon (reigned 722–705 B. C.) waged successful wars in 715–714 B. C.

In the letter here translated (K 469), Ša-Ašur-dubbu gives, with military terseness, an account of a treacherous attack made upon a small party of his soldiers by a certain native of Šupria, a district which apparently lay near Tuškhan, in the corner formed by the northwestern Tigris, where it turns its course eastward (cf. Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, ii. p. 151).

The city of Dûr-Šarrukîn, or "Sargonsburg," mentioned in line 20 of the reverse, and for which the timber mentioned in line 17 was probably required, was founded, after a long cherished plan, by the great king whose name it commemorates, and completed in the latter years of his reign. On the 22[d] of Tishri (September), 707, in the eponymy of Ša-Ašur-dubbu, the images of the gods were carried through its streets in solemn procession, and established in their temples, and in April of the following year the

king formally took up his residence in his new capital. One year later (705), he fell by the hand of an assassin (Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.*, p. 248). The site of Dûr-Šarrukîn, occupied by the modern village of Khorsabad, was explored in the years 1843–1844 by the French consul at Mosul, Émile Botta, who discovered the palace of Sargon, with a wealth of sculptures and inscriptions which were conveyed to Paris, and now form part of the Louvre collection. The letter of Ša-Ašur-dubbu may be rendered as follows :

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Ša-Ašur-dubbu ! A hearty greeting to the king, my lord ! Greeting to the fortresses, to the country of the king my lord !

I sent two of my officers, accompanied by six men and provided with a warrant, after some deserters who were in the city of Penzâ. Two chiefs of battalion went along with them. The soldiers took down rations, of which they partook (en route). The brother of the Šuprian, having shared their meal with them, they set out and travelled along together. The Šuprian had laid an ambush beforehand, (but) the two officers, with the six soldiers, got out (of it, and) rescued both the chiefs of battalion. I sent word to them, "Establish (there) a military post." I shall make an investigation, (and) if they are in my country I shall lay hands on the rascals. I went and brought up troops into the fortress. Let the king, my lord, send orders that the Taziru and the Itû of my lord the king, who have appointed their deputies here, may come (themselves) and stand guard with me, until they get this timber away. The king, my lord, shall decide. My men are doing duty in Dûr-Šarrukîn, (but) the cavalry are here with me.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1] *Ana šarri, beliia,* [2] *ardúka Ša-Ašur-dubbu !*

[3] *Lû šulmu ana šarri,* [4] *belîia, adanniš !*

[5] *Šulmu ana âl bîrât,* [6] *ana mâti ša šarri beliia !*

[7] II *rešeia,* VI *çâbe* [8] *issišunu, kunukku ina qâtišunu,* [9] *ina muxxi xalqûte, ša ina âl Penzâ* [10] *assaparšunu.* II *rabe-qiçir* [11] *issišunu ittallakû.* [12] *Çâbe usseridûni* [13] *akâle, ina libbi etaklû.* [14] *Axušu ša Šupri'â* [15] *issišunu ina libbi* [16] *etakla. Qa . . . . ni axiš* [17] *ittûçûni,* [18] *ittalkûni.* [19] *Šupri'â* [20] *šubtu ina pânâtu* [21] *ussešibu.* (Rev.) [1] II *rešeia* [2] *itti* VI *çâbe ittaçû,* [3] *rabe-qiçiria* [4] *kilale ussezibû.* [5] *Assaparášunu* [6] *'šubat çâbe* [7] *'rammî'. Mâ, aš'al;* [8] *'šumma ina mâtiia šunu, addan* [9] *anáku qâtâ'a ina kibsâti.* [10] *Attallak, çâbe ina* [11] *bîrtišu usselî'a.* [12] *Taziru, Itu'u* [13] *ša šarri*

beliia, ša annaka[17] *uqa'ib(û?)*-ni šaknûtišunu,* [18]*šarru belî lišpura* [19]*lillikûni, issia ana* [20]*maççarti lizzizû,* [21]*adî gušûre annûte* [22]*ušeçûni. Šarru belî* [23]*ûdâ. Câbeia* [24]*[ina] âl Dûr-Šarrukîn* [25]*[dul]la ippušû,* (Edge) [26]*ša bithallâti šunu ina pâniia* [27]*izzazû.*

8.

K 629.

The worship of the god Nabû seems to have been introduced into Assyria from Babylonia,—where he was from early times the special divinity of the important city of Borsippa near Babylon,—during the reign of Rammân-nirârî III. (812–783 B. C.), before which time the god would seem to have played no prominent part in the Assyrian pantheon. The annotated Eponym Canon records that in the year 787 the god Nabû made solemn entry into his "new temple" (*K. B.*, i. p. 210), and this temple, situated in the city of Calah, where its ruins have been explored, bore, like its famous Babylonian prototype, the name of Ezida, "the true house." Upon two statues of Nabû found by W. K. Loftus in the temple at Calah, is an inscription (identical in both cases) stating that these statues were prepared by Bel-tarçi-ilu-ma, governor of Calah and the adjoining district, as a votive offering "for the life of Rammân-nirârî, king of Assyria, his lord, and Sammu-râmat, the lady of the palace, his lady," as also for his own welfare and that of his family (*K. B.*, i. p. 192).

Sammu-râmat, whose name recalls that of the mythical Semiramis,[1] was either the wife or mother of the king; and Tiele argues with great plausibility that this lady was a Babylonian princess, and that the introduction of the cult of Nabû into Assyria was owing to her influence (Tiele, *Bab-Assyr. Gesch.*, pp. 207, 212). Once established, the worship of the god took firm root, and continued to flourish down to the last days of the empire.

Nabû-šum-iddina ("Nabû has given a name"), who, in the letter here presented describing a religious ceremony and solemn procession in honor of the god, styles himself the prefect of the temple of Nabû, appears to have lived in the reign of Esarhaddon; and the prince to whom the letter is addressed was proba-

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* Harper's text reads here *u-ka-ip-ni* (i. e. *uqâ'ip*, II. 1. of *qâpu*, st. קיף), but the enclitic *ni* cannot be joined to the verb without a union vowel (cf. Del., *Assyr. Gram.*, § 79, *β*). and in any case we should expect the *modus relativus* after the preceding *ša*. The insertion of *u* improves both the sense and the construction. For *itû* as an official title, see Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 157a, and *PSBA.*, May 1889, pl. iv. col. i. 18; col. ii. 11.

[1] Cf. *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, i. p. 323 below.

bly Sardanapallus, and was evidently the heir to the throne, since a wish is expressed for the long duration of his future reign. A letter to the king from the same writer, or from a person of the same name (K 1017 ; Harper, No. 66), is too badly mutilated to yield any connected sense, but mentions (rev. ll. 1, 2) the crown prince (*mâr šarri rabû ša bît-ridûte*), and the name of Sardanapallus, of which traces are preserved, is evidently to be restored before the title.

Fourteen letters (Nos. 60–73) are published in Harper's work under the name of Nabû-šum-iddina. Of Nos. 72 (K 1272) and 73 (K 5509) merely the opening words remain ; and the context of Nos. 67 (K 1050) and 70 (K 1070) is rendered unintelligible by the mutilation of the tablet. No. 66 has just been referred to, and all the rest are reports of the arrival of horses.[1] Whether the priest of Nabû and the writer about horses were identical is open to doubt. The formula of greeting is certainly the same in the letters of both persons, but it is not a very characteristic one. The invocation to Nabû and Marduk is common to many writers; precisely the same formula is found, for example, in the letter of Nabû-nâçir ("Nabû protects") to the king (Harper, No. 178=K 482).

The ceremonies attending the consecration of the couch of a god, referred to in the letter before us, are minutely described in a liturgical text (K 164; *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, ii. p. 635). After the appropriate offerings are presented, the officiating priestess purifies the feet of the divine image with a sprig of reed and a vessel of oil, approaches (?) the bed three times, kisses the feet of the image, and retires and sits down. She then burns cedar wood dipped in wine, places before the image the heart of a sheep wrapped in a cloth, and offers libations. Aromatic woods are consecrated and burnt, further libations and offerings are made, tables are spread for various divinities, and the ceremony concludes with a prayer for the king. This recalls Herodotus' description (i. 181) of the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, where it is stated that the chamber containing the couch of the god, beside which stood a golden table, was at night occupied only by a woman supposed to be chosen by the god himself from all the women of the country. It would appear from the text before us that stables were attached to the temples for the accommodation of horses used on ceremonial occasions, when a specially appointed charioteer officiated. The jar-bearers mentioned probably carried holy water for lustral purposes and wine for libations.

The letter of Nabû-šum-iddina (K 629=Harper, No. 65) may be thus translated :

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[1] For translations of most of these, and of other letters upon the same subject, see Delitzsch in *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, i. pp. 202-212 ; ii. pp. 44-55.

TRANSLATION.

To the prince, my lord, thy servant Nabû-šum-iddina!

A hearty, hearty greeting to the prince, my lord! May Nabû and Marduk bless the prince, my lord!

On the third day of the month of Iyyar the city of Calah will consecrate the couch of Nabû, (and) the god will enter the bed-chamber. On the fourth (will take place) the return of Nabû. The prince my lord shall decide. I am the prefect of the house of Nabû thy god, (so) I (of course) shall go.

At Calah the god will come forth from the palace enclosure (?), (and) from the palace enclosure (?) will go to the grove. A sacrifice will be offered. The charioteer of the gods, coming from the stable of the gods, will take the god forth, bring him back, and convey him within. This is the route of the procession.

Of the jar-bearers, whoever has a sacrifice (to offer) will offer it. Whoever offers up one *qa*[1] of his food, may enter the house of Nabû. May they[2] perfectly execute the ordinances of the gods, to the life and health of the prince, my lord. What (commands) has the prince, my lord, to send me? May Bel and Nabû, who granted help in the month of Shebat, guard the life of the prince, my lord. May they make thy sovereignty extend to the end of time.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana mâr šarri beliia*, [2]*ardúka Nabû-šum-iddina!*
[3]*Lú šulmu ana mâr šarri beliia* [4]*aḍanniš aḍanniš!*
[5]*Nabû, Marduk ana mâr šarri* [6]*beliia likrubû!*
[7]*Ûmu šálšu ša arax Âri âl Kalxi* [8]*eršu ša Nabû takárar.* [9]*Nabû ina bît erši errab.* [10]*Ûmu rebû târšu ša Nabû.* [11]*Mâr šarri belî ûdâ.* [12am] *xazânu ša bît Nabû* [13]*iluka anâku,* [14]*lallik. Ina âl Kalxi* [15]*ilu ina libbi adri ekalli* [16]*uçâ, ša libbi adri ekalli* [17]*ana kirî illaka.* [18]*Niqû* (Edge) [19]*innépaš.* [20][*Ina*] *urû ša ilâni* [21]*mukîl-asâte* (Rev.) [1]*ša ilâní-ma illak,* [2]*ilu ušeçâ* [3]*u ussaxxar* [4]*ušerab. Šâ* [5]*etêqa illaka.* [6]*Nâš-šappâte, ša niqûšu* [7]*ibášúni, ippaš.* [8]*Ša* I QA *aklišu ušelâ,* [9]*ina bît Nabû errab.* [10]*Parçe ša ilâni šunu,* [11]*ana bulluṭ napšâte* [12]*ša mâr šarri beliia,* [13]*lušallimû lipušû.* [14]*Mînu ša mâr šarri* [15]*belî išáparáni?* [16]*Bel, Nabû, ša ina arax Šabâṭi* [17]*xamaṭṭa iškunúni,* [18]*napšâte ša mâr šarri* (Edge) [19]*beliia liççurû,* [20]*šarrûtka* [21]*ana çât ûme lušâlikû.*

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[1] A measure; cf. p. 141, l. 56.
[2] Those officiating at the ceremony.

9.

K 547.

The general tone of this letter, and the reference to the gods Bel and Nabû contained in it, would seem to favor the identification of the writer with the priest of Nabû who in the text last treated invokes the same deities in behalf of the prince. The title of the official to whom it is addressed is mutilated, and is here restored in accordance with the traces given in Harper's copy of the text, which is published in his *Letters of the K Collection* (No. 62). It is a courteous expression of the good wishes of the writer in connection, apparently, with some matter the nature of which is not stated, but was of course well known to the recipient.

TRANSLATION.

To the Secretary of State, my lord, thy servant Nabû-šum-iddina! Greeting to my lord!

May Nabû and Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, bless my lord! May they keep thee whole! May thy heart ever be of good cheer! May Bel and Nabû establish prosperity in the homes of the people of Nineveh and prosperity with thee also.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana* [*dupšar*] *mâti* [2]*beliia, ardúka* [3]*Nabû-šum-iddina!*

[4]*Lû šulmu ana beliia!*

[5]*Nabû u Marduk,* [6]*Ištar ša Ninua,* [7]*Ištar ša Arba'il* [8]*ana beliia* [9]*likrubû!* [10]*Lušallimûka!*

(Rev.) [1]*Libbaka* [2]*ka'âmâni* [3]*lû ṭâba!* [4]*Šulmu ina bîti* [5]*ana nîšê* [6]*ša ina Ninua,* [7]*u šulmu* [8]*issika* [9]*Bel u Nabû* [10]*lipqidû!*

10.

K 589.

Išdî-Nabû ("Nabû is my foundation"), an Assyrian official who probably flourished in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.), is the writer of four letters published in Harper's collection (Nos. 186–189). In one of them (K 1048; Harper, No. 189), of which there remains only the formula of greeting and the name of one Ašur-šezibâni ("Ašur deliver me"), a governor, about whom some communication apparently followed, he styles himself, "the secretary of the new house." Another (K 113; Harper, No. 186)[1] contains a salutation "to the guards of the

[1] Published with transliteration, translation, and commentary by S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, iii. pp. 18–21 (with additional notes by Pinches, pp. 91–93); also by Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyr.*, ii. pp. 24–30.

king, my lord," and refers chiefly to the endeavor of a certain Nâdin-šum-ilu ("the god gives a name") to recruit for the same corps fifty men, formerly under the command of his father, who met his death "in the land of the enemy." The letter, written at Nineveh, is addressed to the king, who would seem to have been at the time in the neighborhood of Sippara. The second letter (K 589; Harper, No. 187), addressed to the prince (literally "the son of the king"), who may have been Sardanapallus, contains a courtly greeting, and conveys the assurance of the good will of the god Nabû, whose oracle he had doubtless consulted. It may be thus rendered :

TRANSLATION.

To the prince, my lord, thy servant Išdî-Nabû! A hearty greeting to the prince, my lord! May Bel, Nabû, Belit the divine queen of Kidimuri, and Ištar of Arbela grant health of mind and body, life, and happiness to the prince, my lord!

I convey the gracious messages of Nabû. Greeting to all the guard! May the heart of the prince, my lord, be of good cheer.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana mâr šarri beliia,* [2]*ardúka Išdî-Nabû!*

[3]*Lû šulmu ana mâr šarri* [4]*beliia adanniš!*

[5]*Bel, Nabû,* [6]*Belit iltu belit Kidimuri,* [7]*Ištar ša Arba'il* [8]*ṭûb libbi,* [9]*ṭûb šîre,* [10]*lale balâṭi* [11]*ana mâr šarri beliia* [12]*liddinû!*

(Rev.) [1]*Rixâte* [2]*ša Nabû* [3]*ana mâr šarri beliia* [4]*ussebila.* [5]*Šulmu ana maççarâte* [6]*gabbu! Libbu* [7]*ša mâr šarri beliia* [8]*lû ṭâbšu!*

11.

K 551.

The importance attributed to omens, and the great attention paid to their interpretation by the Assyro-Babylonians, is attested by the very large number of tablets dealing with the subject found in the ruined temples and palaces of the ancient Mesopotamian empires.[1] These texts, which would seem to have accumulated from a very remote period, contain explanations of omens derived from phenomena of every description, terrestrial as well as celestial, and were consulted as the standard authorities, whenever, as often happened, such information was desired.

The astrologer Nabû'a doubtless had in mind a passage from one of these tablets when he wrote the letter here translated. At precisely what period this votary of astral science lived and

[1] Cf. Alfred Boissier, *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages*, Paris, 1894 ff.

practiced his art, it is impossible to say with certainty; but it was in all probability under one of the Sargonide kings. In two observatory reports published in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iii. p. 51, he signs his name, "Nabû'a of the City of Aššur," the ancient capital of Assyria. In a similar communication (Harper, No. 141=K 481), he reports that an observation had been made, and that the sun and moon had been visible in the heavens at the same time.

The omen to be derived from the occurrence mentioned below was doubtless an unfavorable one, since otherwise the fox would hardly have been killed. That the fox, however, was not invariably regarded as a harbinger of evil may be gathered from two passages from an omen-text relating to the building of a house, published in Pinches' *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-Writing*, p. 12. The first (obv. col. i, ll. 30–33) may be thus rendered: "When the foundations are laid, if green locusts are seen, the foundations will go to ruin and the house will not be constructed. If black locusts are seen, the owner of the house will die an untimely death. If either a fox or locusts (?) are seen, the house will go to ruin. If dogs and swine fight, the house will have a claimant (at law)." In the second passage, however, the appearance of the fox was regarded as a good omen, since we read (*ibid.* obv. col. 2, ll. 1 ff.): "When the threshold is laid, if a fox enters the house, the house will be inhabited. If locusts (?) enter the house, the house will go to ruins. If an ox, misfortune will overtake the house. If a horse, the wife of the owner will die. If an ass, the son of the owner will die," etc. The letter of Nabû'a (K 551; Harper, No. 142) may be translated as follows:

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Nabû'a!

May Nabû and Marduk bless the king, my lord!

On the seventh day of the month Kislev a fox entered the city, and fell into a well in the grove of the god Ašur. They got him out, and killed him.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

'Ana šarri beliia 'ardúka Nabû'a!

'Nabû Marduk 'ana šarri beliia 'likrubû!

'Ûmu sebû ša arax Kisilimi 'šelibu ina libbi âli 'etarba, 'ina kirî ša Ašur (Rev.) *'ina bûri ittuqut. 'Usselûni 'idûkû.*

12.

K 565.

Balasi, the author of six letters published in Harper's work (Nos. 74–79), all relating to astrology, divination, and kindred matters, and also of a number of astrological reports (cf., e. g.

III R 51, no. iv; 54, no. 10; 58, no. 12), was an Assyrian priestly astrologer who lived in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.). He was therefore a contemporary of Arad-Ea, Arad-Nanâ, and Nabû-šum-iddina, examples of whose correspondence are given in this paper, Nos. 8, 13, 14 and 15.

The letter of Balasi and his colleague Nabû-akhe-erba which is selected for translation here is evidently in answer to a communication from the king, who desired to be informed as to the advisability of a journey contemplated for his son Ašur-mukîn-pale'a, and the most auspicious occasion for setting out upon it. The answer is favorable; the journey may be undertaken, and though the second of the month will do very well, the fourth is particularly recommended. It may be that the prince was in ill health, and that this was the occasion of the intended journey. The physician Arad-Nanâ mentions Ašur-mukîn-pale'a in terms which would indicate that he was suffering from some malady (see p. 161). This text, which is published in Harper's Letters (No. 77), may be translated as follows:

TRANSLATION.

To the king, our lord, thy servants Balasi and Nabû-akhe-erba! Greeting to the king, our lord! May Nabû and Marduk bless the king, our lord!

As for Ašur-mukîn-pale'a, about whom the king, our lord, has sent to us, may Ašur, Bel, Nabû, Sin, Šamaš, and Rammân bless him!

May our lord the king behold his welfare.

The conditions are auspicious for the journey. The second of the month is an auspicious day; the fourth, extremely auspicious.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šarri belini,* [2]*ardânika* [3]*Balasî* [4]*Nabû-axe-erba!*

[5]*Lû šulmu* [6]*ana šarri belini!*

[7]*Nabû Marduk* [8]*ana šarri belini* [9]*likrubû!*

[10]*Ina muxxi Ašur-mukîn-paleʾa,* [11]*ša šarri beluni* [12]*išpurandšini,* [13]*Ašur, Bel, Sin,* [14]*Šamaš, Rammân* [15]*likrubûšu!* (Rev.) [1]*Nimelšu* [2]*šarru belúni limur!*

[3]*Ṭâba* [4]*ana alâki.* [5]*Ûmu šanû ṭâba.* [6]*Ûmu rebû adanniš* [7]*ṭâba.*

13.

K 1024.

Arad-Ea ("Servant of Ea"), the writer of K 1024, was a priest and astrologer who flourished in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.). He is mentioned as exercising priestly functions in a letter of the astrologer, Marduk-šakin-šum ("Merodach appoints

a name") ; see Harper, No. 23=K 602, obv. 19; and his name occurs in another letter of the same writer, in which the prince (i. e. Sardanapallus) and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn are also mentioned (Harper, No. 24=K 626, obv. 5, 6, no. 20). He also appears (Harper, No. 16=K 1428) as the joint author of an address to the king in company with his colleagues Rammân-šum-uṣur ("Ramman protect the name"), Ištar-šum-ereš ("Ištar has willed a name"), and Akkullânu, all of whom are known to have lived in the reign of Esarhaddon. His functions are more precisely indicated by the fact that he is the author of a letter to the king on religious ceremonies (K 1204) and of an astrological report (K 1405). He is doubtless to be identified with the priest bearing the same name who appears in a list of officials of the reign of Esarhaddon (*PSBA.*, May, 1889, pl. iv. col. 1, 29).

In Harper's *Letters*, four letters (Nos. 27–30) are published under the name of Arad-Ea, but the last of these (No. 30=K 7426) must have been written by a person of the same name of an earlier date. It is addressed (obv. 2) to King Sargon (reigned 722–705) ; is written in the Babylonian, while the other three are in the Assyrian character ; and differs also in the formula of greeting with which it begins. Of the remaining three, one (No. 27= K 1022) is entirely lost after the initial complimentary phrases, which are practically identical in all three, and another (No. 29= K 1204) is too badly damaged to admit of translation. Of the third (No. 28=K 1024), the last line of the obverse and the first two lines of the reverse are almost entirely obliterated, but the sense, if not the exact words, of what has been lost may be easily supplied from the context. The letter conveys to the king, who was apparently afflicted with some illness, the assurance that, by the will of the gods, he will certainly recover and live for many years to come, to which desirable end the prayers of the writer shall not be wanting.

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Arad-Ea ! Greeting to my lord the king ! May Nabû, Marduk, Sin, Ningal, (and) Nusku bless the king, my lord !

Sin, Ningal[1] ..... shall grant life, and length (of days) to the king, my lord. I pray day and night for my lord's life.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]Ana šarri beliia [2]ardúka Arad-Ea !

[3]Lú šulmu [4]ana šarri beliia !

[5]Nabû, Marduk, Sin, [6]Nin-gâl, Nusku [7]ana šarri beliia [8]likrubû !

[1] The text is obliterated, but the names of other gods doubtless followed here.

[8]*Sin, Nin-gal* . . . . . [10] . . . . . (Rev.) [1] . . . . . [*balâṭ*] [8]*napišti* [*ša ûme*] [8]*rûqûti* [4]*ana šarri beliia* [4]*iddanû.*

[8]*Anâku ûmi mûšu* [7]*ina muxxi napšâte* [8]*ša beliia* [8]*uçallâ.*

14.

S 1064.

According to the statement of Herodotus (i. 197), the Babylonians did not employ physicians, but brought their sick to the market-place in order to receive the advice of such persons as might be able to suggest a remedy derived from their personal experience or from that of their friends. The statement is entirely erroneous. The fact that physicians existed and were held in high esteem both in Assyria and Babylonia is abundantly attested by the cuneiform inscriptions. They belonged to the priestly class, and in their practice combined magic with more rational methods.

It was the belief that sickness was due to the agency of demons or evil spirits, which invaded the body of an individual and produced all manner of diseases. A large number of charms and incantations have been found, having for their object the expulsion of the malevolent spirits and the restoration of the sufferer. Most of these charms are fantastic in the extreme, but occasionally the magical formula veils a really sensible prescription. For example, in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv. p. 29* (4C, col. ii, rev. ll. 6–8), is a charm for the cure of a disease of the eyes, which directs the application of crushed palm-bark; and it is immediately followed (ll. 10–26) by another, in which ground bark is recommended as a remedy for the same affection. In both these cases it is evident that the virtue of the charm lies in the astringent application recommended; it is, in fact, a measure very similar to the use of tea-leaves, a well known household remedy frequently resorted to in cases of inflamed eyes.

Among the epistolary tablets are a few letters from physicians, and from these also it may be gathered that these ancient practitioners did not entirely depend upon magic arts, as may be seen from the two examples here presented. The writer, in both cases, is Arad-Nanâ ("Servant of Nanâ"), who flourished in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.), and was probably court physician of that monarch. Four of his letters are published in Harper's work (No. 108–111.) In one of these (K 532, obv. 8, rev. 11) he refers to Ašur-mukîn-pale'a ("Ašur establishes my reign"), a younger son of Esarhaddon and brother of Sardanapallus, and assures the king that he need be under no apprehension (obv. 11) as to the health of the prince, who seems to have been under his professional care. In another (K 576) he directs the king to anoint himself as a precaution against draughts, to drink pure water, and to wash his hands frequently in a bowl (rev. 4–10).

The letter which follows is published, with translation, transliteration, and commentary, by S. A. Smith in his *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals* (ii. 58–63).[1] Mr. Smith considers that the disease was hardly a natural one, but that the patient had received one, or perhaps several wounds, one of which, affecting the head, was likely to prove mortal (p. 58). The original, however, contains no mention of a wound, nor does Arad-Nanâ seem to have any apprehension as to the result. The case, in fact, would rather seem to have been one of opththalmia or, more probably, facial erysipelas,[2] which, however, was taking a favorable course—so favorable indeed that Arad-Nanâ feels compelled to attribute it to the special interposition of some god who had interested himself in the matter. The prognosis is therefore excellent, and the complete recovery of the patient may be expected in the course of seven or eight days. The invocation to the deities Adar and Gula in the formula of salutation, is usually found in letters written by physicians, these divinities being the special patrons of the healing art. The letter may be translated as follows :

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Arad-Nanâ ! A hearty greeting to my lord the king ! May the deities Adar and Gula grant health of mind and body to my lord the king !

All goes well in regard to that poor fellow whose eyes are diseased. I had applied a dressing covering his face. Yesterday, towards evening, undoing the bandage which held it (in place), I removed the dressing. There was pus upon the dressing the size of the tip of the little finger. If any of thy gods has put his hand to the matter, that (god) must surely have given express commands.[3] All is well. Let the heart of my lord the king be of good cheer ! Within seven or eight days he will be well.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šarri beliia* [2]*ardúka Arad-Nanâ !*

[3]*Lû šulmu adanniš adanniš* [4]*ana šarri beliia !*

[5]*Adar u Gula* [6]*ṭûb libbi, ṭûb šîre* [7]*ana šarri beliia liddinû !*

[8]*Šulmu adanniš* [9]*ana lakû* [10]*sikru xannî'u,* [11]*ša kûri înâšu.* [12]*Talîtu ina muxxi* [13]*urtakkis, ina appišu* [14]*irtumu.* [15]*Ina timâli,* (Rev.) [16]*kî bâdi,* [17]*širṭu ša ina libbi* [18]*câbitúni aptaṭar,* [19]*talîtu ša*

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[1] Translated also by the present writer in Johns Hopkins Circulars, No. 114 (July, 1894), p. 119.

[2] Cf. Dr. M. Bartels' paper on *ṭe'u* in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* viii. p. 179. According to Dr. Bartels, *muruç qaqqadi* (" the disease of the head ") or *ṭe'u* is the Assyrian name of erysipelas.

[3] I. e. to bring about so desirable a result.

ina muxxi [20]*utûli. Šarku* [21]*ina muxxi talîti* [22]*bâšî ammar qaqqad* [23]*ubâni çixirti.*

[24]*Ilânika, šumma memeni* [25]*idâšu ina libbi* [26]*ummidúni—šûtuma* [27]*pîšu ittedin.*

[28]*Šulmu adanniš.* [29]*Libbu ša šarri beliia* [30]*lû ṭâba!* (Edge) [31]*Adû âme* VII VIII *ibálaṭ.*

15.

K 519.

The following letter, K 519, also from Arad-Nanâ to his royal patron Esarhaddon, is published in Harper's *Letters*, No. 108. In ll. 9–14 of the obverse the context is so interrupted and obscured by mutilation of the text that it has seemed advisable to make no attempt at translation, and these lines are accordingly omitted. The reverse, which contains all that is interesting from a medical point of view, relates to a patient suffering from severe epistaxis. External compresses seem to have been applied, which are characterized as unscientific appliances, serving only to interfere with the patient's breathing, and valueless as a means of checking the hemorrhage. Plugging the nares is the proper mode of treatment, in the opinion of Arad-Nanâ, whose letter may be rendered as follows:

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant, Arad-Nanâ! Greeting most heartily to my lord the king! May Adar and Gula grant health of mind and body to my lord the king. A hearty greeting to the son of the king .....[1]

With regard to the patient who has a bleeding from his nose, the Rab-MUGI[2] reports: "Yesterday, towards evening, there was much hemorrhage." Those dressings are not scientifically applied. They are placed upon the alæ of the nose, oppress the breathing, and come off when there is hemorrhage. Let them be placed within the nostrils, and then the air will be kept away and the hemorrhage restrained. If it is agreeable to my lord, the king, I will go to-morrow and give instructions; (meantime) let me hear how he does.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šarri beliia* [2]*ardúka Arad-Nanâ!*
[3]*Lû šulmu adanniš adanniš* [4]*ana šarri beliia!*
Adar [5]*u Gula ṭâb libbi,* [6]*ṭûb šîrê ana šarri beliia* [7]*liddinû!*
Šulmu adanniš [8]*ana mâr šarri!*

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[1] Obverse ll. 9–14 are here omitted.
[2] An official title.

Dullu [9]*ša ana . . . . . nipušâni* [10]*niddinuni parap kaspu. Ûmu ša* [11]*ittallak ixteridi* [12]*uktîl idâte* [13]*ittušib akî* [14]*umtal . . . . . .* (Rev.) [1]*Ina muxxi marçi* [2]*ša dâme ša appišu* [3]*illakûni, rab-mugi* [4]*iqtebîia, mâ:* [5]*"ina timâli, kî bâdi,* [6]*dâmu ma'adu* [7]*ittalkâ,"— lippe* [8]*ammûte ina lâ mûdânûte* [9]*ibâši'u. Ina muxxi* [10]*naxnaxete ša appi* [11]*ummudû, naxnaxûtu* [12]*uṭâ'ubû, ištu pâni* [13]*dâme ûçâni.* [14]*Pî naxîre* [15]*liškunû, šâru* [16]*ikkasir,* [17]*dâme ikkali'u.* (Edge) [18]*Šumma pân šarri maxir, ana šeri* [19]*. . . . . ina libbi lušaxkim. Umâ šulmu lašme.*

16.

K 504.

According to the Book of Daniel (Chap. 2), Nebuchadnezzar placed the Babylonian sages in a most embarrassing predicament by requiring them to describe to him a dream which he had forgotten, alleging that their boasted science, if a reality, ought to be equal to the task, not only of furnishing an explanation in cases where the facts were known, but also of discovering the facts themselves without the aid of previous information. It is hardly likely that the two Assyrian physicians mentioned in the following letter were confronted with so difficult a problem as their Babylonian confreres of a later date, although in withholding from them all previous information in regard to the matter about which they were to be consulted, the king may have wished to apply a somewhat similar test to their science, and to secure from them a perfectly independent and unbiased opinion.

Ištar-dûrî ("Ištar is my wall"), in whose communication to the king they are mentioned, appears in Harper's work as the author of eight letters. All of them, except the one here translated, are either badly mutilated or merely fragmentary, but from what remains the personality of the writer can be established with very little doubt. In one (Harper, No. 159=K 1025) he mentions (ll. 4–5) "the cavalry of Nibe." From the inscriptions of Sargon we learn that, on the death of Daltâ, king of Ellip, a country lying immediately north of Elam, his two sons, Nibe and Išpabarra, went to war with one another about the succession to the throne. The former allied himself with the king of Elam, the latter appealed for aid to Sargon. Accordingly, in the year 708 B. C., an Assyrian army invaded Ellip, defeated Nibe and his Elamite allies, and placed Išpabarra on the throne (Sargon, *Annals*, 402–411; *Khorsabad*, 117–121). It was doubtless this Nibe who is mentioned by Ištar-dûrî.

In another letter (Harper, No. 158=K 530), the name of Merodach-baladan occurs (obv. 22); and though the context is completely obliterated, it is probable at least that this was the Chaldean prince who made himself king of Babylon in 721 B. C., but

was expelled by Sargon in 710, and took refuge in Elam—the same Merodach-baladan whose message to king Hezekiah is related in Isaiah xxxix. Nabû-zer-ibnî ("Nabû has created offspring"), chief of Ru'a, is mentioned in the same letter (obv. 4), and the people of Ru'a were one of the Aramean tribes who surrendered to Sargon in 712 B. C., and were joined to the new province of Gambûlu (*Annals*, 264–271; Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, i. p. xxxiv). In the letter here translated, mention is made of Šamaš-bel-uçur ("Šamaš protect my lord"), who sends a communication from Der; and a Šamaš-bel-uçur, who may well have been the same person, was eponym in the year 710 B. C. (*K. B.*, i. p. 205).[1]

All these circumstances point to the reign of Sargon (722–705 B. C.) as the period in which Ištar-dûrî flourished, and, as an Ištar-dûrî was eponym in the year 714 (*K. B.*, i. p. 205), we shall probably not be far wrong if we conclude that the writer of the letters and the eponym were one and the same person. This identification was also proposed by the late Geo. Smith, who states in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon* (p. 85), under the year 714 B. C.: "Ištar-duri, the eponym of this year, sent the two Tablets K 1068 and 504."

The former (K 1068), as yet unpublished, is, according to Bezold's Catalogue, a letter to the king about astrological forecasts; the latter (K 504) is the letter which forms the subject of this number. It is published in Harper's *Letters*, No. 157, and also, with transliteration, translation, and commentary, by S. A. Smith in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, x. pp. 168 ff. The version here given is offered as a substitute for that of Mr. Smith.

The city of Der, for whose temples copies of inscriptions are requested, was a seat of the worship of the god Anu, and was situated towards the Babylonian and Elamite frontier, in the district lying between the lower course of the Tigris and the Median mountains (Mûrdter-Delitzsch, *Gesch. Babyl.-Assyr.*, p. 175). It must have contained a sanctuary of some celebrity, since the

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[1] The following texts bearing upon Šamaš-bel-uçur and the city of Der are registered in Bezold's *Catalogue of the K Collection*:—K 5193. A letter to the king; mentions the king of Elam, and the cities Der, Mandiri'a, and Khalçu.—K 6122. A letter to the king; mentions the king of Elam, the city of Der, etc.—K 7297. A letter to the king; mentions Šamaš-bel-uçur.—K 7299. A letter to the king from Šamaš-bel-uçur; reports the entry of the king of Elam into the Elamite city of Bit-Bunaki, etc.; mentions the cities of Der and Khalçu.—K 7325. A letter to the king; mentions Šamaš-bel-uçur, Marduk-sallima, and the city of Khalçu—K 7424. A letter to the king from Šamaš-bel-uçur; mentions the king of Elam and the cities of Der and Khalçu.—K 8585. A letter to the king from Šamaš-bel-uçur; mentions Balasu.

A letter to the king from Šamaš-bel-uçur, published by Harper in *Zeitschrift für Assyr.*, viii. p. 343, mentions neither Ištar-dûrî nor the city of Der.

annotated Eponym List records that in the years 815 and 785 B. C. "the great god went to Der," which means that his image was carried thither in solemn procession. It is possible that, as was conjectured by the late Geo. Smith, Der is to be identified with the city of Dûr-ili, often mentioned in the inscriptions. (See *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, iii. p. 238, 42 ; 282, 42). For references to the city in connection with Elam, see the note on Šamaš-bel-uçur above. It is to be hoped that the site of this city may yet be discovered, and the inscriptions mentioned in the text brought to light.

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Ištar-dûrî ! Greeting to the king, my lord !

I send forthwith to my lord the king, in company with my messenger, the physicians Nabû-šum-iddina and Nabû-erba, of whom I spoke to the king, my lord. Let them be admitted to the presence of the king, my lord, and let the king, my lord, converse with them. I have not disclosed (to them) the true facts, but have told them nothing.[1] As the king, my lord, commands, (so) has it been done.

Šamaš-bel-uçur sends word from Der: "We have no inscriptions to place upon the temple walls." I send, therefore, to the king, my lord, (to ask) that one inscription be written out and sent immediately, (and that) the rest be speedily written, so that they may place them upon the temple walls.

There has been a great deal of rain, (but) the harvest is gathered. May the heart of the king, my lord, be of good cheer !

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šarri beliia* [2]*ardúka Ištar-dûrî !*

[3]*Lû šulmu anu šarri beliia !*

[4]*Ina muxxi Nabû-šum-iddina* [5]*Nabû-erba, âse* [6]*ša ana šarri beliia* [7]*aqbûni, annûsim* [8][*itti*?] *apil-šiprî'a ina pân* [9]*šarri beliia assapraŝunu.* [10]*Ina pân šarri beliia* [11]*lîrubû, šarru belî* [12]*issišunu lidbubu.* [13]*Kettu anâku* [14]*lâ ubarrî,* [15]*lâ aqabâšunu.* [16]*Bîd šarru belî išápar šaknúni.*

[17]*Šamaš-bel-uçur* [18]*ištu âl Deri issapra* [19]*mâ:* "*Mušširânî* (Edge) [20]*lašši, ina libbi igarâte.* (Rev.) [1]*ša bît-ili lâ niškun.*" [2]*Umâ ana šarri beliia* [3]*assapra, išten mušširâ* [4]*lišṭurâ lušebilâni,* [5]*ina pitti rixâti* [6]*lišṭurâ, ina libbi igarâte* [7]*ša bît-ili liškunâ.*

[8]*Zunne ma'adâ* [9]*adanniš ittálak.* [10]*Ebûre deqi.* [11]*Libbi ša šarri beliia* [12]*lâ ṭâbu.*

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[1] Literally, "I have not disclosed the truth, not telling them" (circumstantial clause).

17.

K 660.

From a very early period the vine was successfully cultivated in Assyria, and the reports of modern travellers amply prove that the Rabshak of Sennacherib made no vain boast when he described his country to the Jews besieged within the walls of Jerusalem as "a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive trees and honey" (2 Kings xviii. 32; Isa. xxxvi. 17). Wine is frequently mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and was extensively used both for convivial purposes and in connection with religious ceremonies. Ašur-nâçir-pal (reigned 885–860 B. C.), for example, makes offerings of wine and fruit to the god Ašur and to the temples of his land, to celebrate the rebuilding of the city of Calah (*Asurn.*, iii. 135). Sennacherib (r. 705–681 B. C.), imposes upon the conquered Khirimme, an Aramean tribe of Babylonia, the payment of a tribute of wine to the gods of Assyria (*Prism*, i. 61). Nebuchadnezzar (r. 604–561 B. C.), the great Babylonian monarch who sacked Jerusalem and led away its inhabitants into captivity, offers annual apportionments of wine to his national gods (cf., e. g., *Nebuch. Grotefend*, ii. 32; iii. 15). And these are merely a few of the many instances that could be cited.

The ceremonial use of wine is depicted in sculpture, and frequently mentioned in the historical and in the religious texts. Thus, the liturgical text, K 164, referred to above, p. 154, directs, among other observances, the sprinkling of wine upon the couch of the god, and the pouring out of a libation upon the ground before it; Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon (r. 555–538 B. C.) sprinkles with mead, wine, oil, and honey the temple of the Moon-god in Harran (V R 64, col. ii, 5); and in a sculpture from Nineveh, Sardanapallus (r. 668–626 B. C.) is represented in the act of pouring out a libation over the bodies of four lions that he has slain (Place, *Ninive et l' Assyrie*, Pl. 57; IR 7; cf. the frontispiece in Hommel's *Jagdinschriften*).

A reference to the use of wine on festal occasions is to be found in the fine address of the goddess Ištar to king Sardanapallus (Smith, *Asurb.*, p. 65, ll. 65–67), when, assuring him of her aid and protection against his enemy Teumman, king of Elam, she bids him, "eat food, drink wine, make music, while I go and accomplish this affair"; and the same Assyrian monarch is depicted in a beautiful sculpture (Place, *ibid.*; cf. Mürdter-Delitzsch[2], p. 139), seated, in company with his queen, under an arbor of grape-vines heavy with luscious clusters, surrounded by attendants, drinking wine from a richly chased goblet.

It is interesting to note in this connection that among the ten varieties of wine enumerated in a list published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (ii. 44, 9–13), occurs the wine of Helbon, which is also mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 18),[1] and that

[1] Cf. Cornill (p. 351) and Toy *ad loc.*

the same locality—the village of Khalbun, about nine miles north of Damascus—is noted for its vintage to the present day. The "receipt" of wine for the month of Ṭebet (January-February), spoken of in the following letter, was probably the produce of the royal vineyards for the preceding autumn, which, having undergone the necessary amount of fermentation and preparation, was now ready to be put up in leather bottles or casks,[1] and stored away for use. It is possible, however, that reference is had to a tax or tribute of wine, delivered in the month of Ṭebet. Of Bâbilâ, who with Bel-iqîša and another person whose name is obliterated, addresses the letter to the king, I am unable to give any information beyond the fact that his name means "the Babylonian," or rather "devoted to (the god of) Babylon"—a name like Arba'ilâ, "devoted to (Ištar of) Arbela," Mardukâ (Mordecai), "devoted to Merodach," etc.

To Bel-iqîša are ascribed two other letters published in Harper's work (No. 84=K 117, and No. 85=K 613). In the former the writer complains that, having addressed some remonstrances to the secretary of the palace, that official had made use of very energetic language to him, and had removed him from his post in the palace to another situation much less desirable. The second refers to three officers who have been promoted by the king, but whom their present commander refuses to release from his service that they may assume their new positions. Both these letters evidently proceed from the same person, and stamp the writer as what in American colloquial language would be termed "a kicker." Whether he was identical, however, with the Bel-iqîša of the present letter is not so certain. Several persons of this name occur in the epistolary texts, and any attempt at closer identification seems hazardous in this case. We need have little hesitation, however, in assuming that the communication was addressed to one of the Sargonide kings of Assyria. This letter, which is published in Harper's work (No. 86), conveys the information that the quantity of wine received in the month of Ṭebet is so great that the places of storage provided are entirely inadequate to contain it. It is therefore proposed to deposit it in the royal store-houses, which usually contained, we may suppose, only such wine as was specially selected and set apart for the king's private stock.

TRANSLATION.

To the king, our lord, thy servants .....,[2] Bel-iqîša, and Bâbîlâ! Greeting to our lord the king! May Ašur, ..., Bel, and Nabû grant length of days for never-ending years to our lord the king!

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[1] I prefer the former, and have so rendered, for reasons which will be given in the notes in Part II. Cf. meanwhile Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 354a.

[2] A name has been obliterated here.

The king, our lord, shall decide.[1] Since the receipt for the month Ṭebet is bottled,[2] and there are no places of shelter (for it), we would (wish to) put it into the royal store-houses for wine. Let our lord the king pass an order that the (proper store-)houses may be indicated to us, and we shall be relieved of embarrassment.[3] The wine of our lord the king is of great quantity; where shall we put it?

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šarri belini,* [2]*ardânika* . . . . . [3]*Bel-iqîša,* [4]*Bâbîlâ!*
[5]*Lâ šulmu ana šarri* [6]*belini!*
Ašur, il . . . . . [7]*Bel, Nabû ûme* [8]*arkûte šanâte* [9]*dârâte ana šarri* [10]*belini liddinâ!*
[11]*Šarru belini* [12]*ûdâ. Kî* [13]*naxxartu ša arax Ṭebîti* [14]*karmatúni,* [15]*u çillâte* (Rev.) [1]*laššû, bîtâte-karâni* [2]*ša šarri belini nišâkanúni.* [3]*Šarru belini liqâbî,* [4]*bîtâte lukallimânâši, re[šni?]** [5]*nišši.* [6]*Karânu ša šarri* [7]*ma'adâ, âka* [8]*niškun?*

18.

K 515.

From the earliest historical times to the present day, the navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates has been conducted in essentially the same manner. The round, shallow vessels of plaited willow described by Herodotus (i. 194) are represented in the Assyrian sculptures, and are practically identical with the modern *kufa* which eastern travellers describe as being in common use upon both rivers. The *kelek* or raft with a frame work of wood supported by inflated skins, is also depicted in the sculptures, and is still extensively used, especially between Mosul and Bagdad. Starting with its freight from the former place, it floats down the rapid current of the Tigris, and on reaching its destination is broken up, the timber is sold, and the skins conveyed by camels or asses back to Mosul. Representations of ancient and modern keleks, and of the process of inflating the skins, may be seen in Place's *Ninive et l' Assyrie*, Pl. 43; (cf. Kaulen, *Assyr. und Babyl.*, p. 9) and an interesting account of

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[1] I. e. whether it is proper that our intention shall be carried out.
[2] I. e. in leather bottles.
[3] Literally, "hold up our heads": *nišši* is cohortative, as also *niškun* (l. 8); cf. Del., *Assyr. Gram.* § 145.
* Dr. Harper gives some traces which suggest the character *si*, but might also lend themselves to *iš*. *ni* seems to have been omitted by the scribe, owing to the following preformative *ni*.

these rafts is given in Layard's work, *Nineveh and its Remains* (i. ch. 13 ; ii. ch. 5).[1]

But, though extensively employed, as being well adapted to the Tigris, whose swift current offered a natural obstacle to up-stream navigation, such clumsy rafts were by no means the only vessels with which the ancient Assyrians were acquainted. "Although," says Layard (*op. cit.*, ii. ch. 5), "the Assyrians were properly an inland people, yet their conquests and expeditions, particularly at a later period, brought them into contact with maritime nations. We consequently find, on the monuments of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, frequent representations of naval engagements and operations on the sea-coast." Several illustrations of ancient vessels are to be found in the same work (ii. ch. 2 and 5). One of these, propelled by four oars on a side, has a single mast, at the top of which is a crow's nest, apparently for an archer or look-out. The mast is supported by fore and back-stays. Both prow and stern are very high, the former having the form of a horse's head, the latter that of the tail of a fish. In Place's *Ninive et l' Assyrie*, Pl. 50bis, a vessel of similar shape is represented following along the shore and picking up lions, which are driven by hunters from the brake into the water. This boat has two banks of oars, fifteen on each side, but no mast. Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh* presents (Pl. 71) illustrations of a number of vessels, evidently war-ships, having two banks of oars, and shields hanging along the bulwarks. Five have sheer prows and sharp beaks for ramming, and these have also a mast, a single yard, fore and back-stays, braces, and halliards. Ships are also frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, and an interesting text (K 4378) published in Delitzsch's *Lesestücke*[2] (pp. 86–90) contains an enumeration of different sorts of vessels and their parts. Mast, sails, yards, rudder, rigging, bulwarks, prow, stern, deck, hold, and keel are all mentioned ; and among the different kinds of vessels the "Assyrian ship" is specially designated, along with those of the Babylonian cities of Ur and Nippur. It is well known that the cuneiform account of the Deluge contains a detailed description of the building of the ship which the god Ea bade the Babylonian Noah construct.[2]

At the present day the Tigris is only navigable, even for vessels of light draught, up to about twenty miles below Mosul, and thence to Diarbekr only by raft, and it is doubtful whether the conditions were much more favorable in early times. As far as Bagdad, however, the river is navigable for light freight-bearing

[1] See also Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Bk. i. c. 194, for valuable notes and references. Prof. Haupt has called my attention to an article in the *Daheim* of March 16th, 1895 (No. 24, p. 383^{b} above), where it is stated that the African explorer Count Götzen, in the summer of 1894, crossed the rapid stream of the Lowa, a large tributary of the Congo, by means of a canoe and raft constructed of inflated goat skins. Consequently this species of raft seems not to have been confined to Mesopotamia.

[2] See Haupt's *Nimrod Epic*, p. 186, ll. 48 ff.

steamers, and it is possible that the vessels of the ancients may have been able to proceed even further up the stream.

Opis, where the writer of the letter translated below desired to establish a base of operations for his vessel, was an ancient commercial city of importance situated at the junction of the Tigris with the Adhem. It was conquered by Tiglathpileser I. about 1100 B. C.; and, continuing to flourish until a comparatively late period, is frequently mentioned by Greek writers (Herod., i. 189; Xen., *Anab.*, ii. 4, 25; Arrian, *Anab.*, vii. 7, 6; Strabo, ii. 1, 26; xi. 14, 8; xvi. 1, 9). Its ruins are still to be seen (cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 205). It was to Opis that some of the ships built by Sennacherib in 696 or 695 B. C. for his expedition against Merodach-baladan were floated down the Tigris from Nineveh; starting thence, they sailed down the river to the district of Bît-Dakkûri, where they passed through the canal Arakhtu into the Euphrates, thus joining the rest of the fleet.[1] Bâb-bitqi was situated further down the Tigris. It is mentioned in a text of the time of Sargon (IV R², 46, no. 1, rev. 1) in connection with Bît-Dakkûri, which extended from the left bank of the Euphrates in the neighborhood of Babylon and Borsippa to the right bank of the Tigris. (Cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 202.) It probably lay at the mouth of the canal Arakhtu mentioned above, which, crossing Bît-Dakkûri, passed through Babylon into the Euphrates, thus connecting the two great Mesopotamian rivers. *Bâb-bitqi* probably means *Gate* i. e. *Lock of the Cut* or *Ditch.*

Ṭâb-çil-Ešara ("Good is the shelter of Ešara"), the writer of the letter, was governor of the city of Aššur, and held the high office of eponym in the year 714 B. C. (Smith, *Eponym Canon*, p. 84). Thirteen of his letters are published in Harper's work (Nos. 87–99); and two others (R^M. 2, 458, 459) are edited by the same scholar in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, viii. pp. 355, 356, but most of them are unfortunately badly mutilated. One of them (K 507), which is also published in transliteration, with translation and commentary, by Delitzsch (*B.A.*, ii. p. 32),[2] refers to a certain Nabû-bel-šumâte, prefect of Bîrat, who being obliged to repel a raid upon Sippara, has been unable to present himself sooner before the king. Another (K 656=Harper, No. 92) gives an account of a large quantity of heavy timber for building purposes; and building operations in the city of Aššur are mentioned in K 5466 (=Harper, No. 99), rev. 6 ff., and in K 620 (=Harper, No. 91), rev. 2 ff.

A most important reference, which places beyond a doubt the identification of the writer with the eponym of the year 714 B. C., is contained in the former text (K 5466) ll. 6–9: "Since my lord the king has given freedom to the city of Aššur, and its

[1] See Prof. Haupt's paper on The Battle of Halûle, *Andover Review*, May, 1886, p. 543.

[2] Also by S. A. Smith in *PSBA.*, x. pt. 3, pl. ix., and pp. 178 ff.

government has devolved upon me, I am repairing the palace of the city of palaces."[1] King Sargon repeatedly mentions the fact that he restored to the cities of Aššur and Harran their ancient privileges and immunities, which had long fallen into abeyance (cf. Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, pp. 80, 96, 146, 158, 174); and the building operations mentioned by Ṭâb-çil-Ešara were doubtless due to the desire of the Assyrian monarch to restore to the former capital of his empire something of its pristine glory. Ṭâb-çil-Ešara, who was governor of Aššur under Sargon (r. 722–705 B. C.), may well have lived on into the reign of Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib (r. 705–681 B. C.), and therefore it is not impossible that the ships mentioned in the letter may have constituted part of the fleet built by the latter monarch in 696–695. There is no record of the possession by the Assyrians of a permanent navy, and these vessels, having served the purpose for which they were constructed, may well have been either broken up or acquired by individuals for commercial purposes.

The following letter, which is so clear as to need no special explanation, would seem to show that Opis was considered a more desirable point for operating freight vessels than Bâb-bitqi. It is published in Harper's *Letters*, No. 89, and may be translated as follows :

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Tâb-çil-Ešara !

Greeting to the king, my lord !

May Ašur and Belit bless the king, my lord !

That ship of mine in which the grand vizier conveyed money down (the river), is now stopping at Bâb-bitqi, and the ship of the governor of Arrapakhitis is carrying on a ferry at Opis. My lord the king shall decide. We transport in her straw, fodder, (and) such matters. (?)

Let now the ship of the governor of Arrapakhitis come and carry on a ferry at Bâb-bitqi, and let mine go to Opis so that we may transport straw and fodder in her (there). The men of the governor of Arrapakhitis are already conducting a ferry at Bâb-bitqi.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Ana šarri beliia, [2]ardúka Ṭâb-çil-Ešara !*

[3]*Lâ šulmu ana šarri beliia !*

[4]*Ašur, Belit ana šarri beliia [5]likrubû !*

[6]*Elippu šî iâtu, [7]abarakku kaspu ina libbi [8]usserida, [9]ina Bâb-bitqi [10]tâzáza, [11]u elippu ša paxâti [12]ša Arapxa ina libbi Upî'a [13]níburu tuppaš. [14]Šarru belu ûdâ. [15]Nîni (?) tibnu*

[1] Or the city of Ekallâti. See *Sennach. Bavian*, 48–50.

kisâtu [10]*dibbâte*(?) *ammêti* (?) [11]*nuše*[*bar ina libbiša*]. (Rev.) [1][*Umâ at*]*â elippu* [2]*ša paxâti ša Arapxa* [3]*lâ tallik*, [4]*ina Bâb-bitqi* [5]*nîburu lâ tuppiš*, [6]*u ịâtu lâ tallika*, [7]*ina Upî'a* [8]*tibnu kisâtu* [9]*ina libbiša nušebira.* [10]*Çâbê ša paxâti* [11]*ša Arapxa* [11]*ina Bâb-bitqi* [11]*nîburu* [11]*uppušâ.*

19.

K 1274.

Since all, or nearly all, the Assyro-Babylonian epistolary texts that have as yet been found are those which were stored up in royal palaces among the archives, letters of an official character constitute, as may be supposed, by far the greater number. But few letters of private individuals have been discovered, and those of women, of whatever rank, are extremely rare. In fact, I am only acquainted with two, and it is interesting to note that both are characteristic.

One of these, from an Assyrian princess,[1] a grand-daughter of Sardanapallus, conveys a rebuke to a presumptuous court lady who has been guilty of a flagrant breach of etiquette. The other, from a woman whose social status is not evident, contains an appeal in behalf of some unfortunate slaves who have claimed her intercession. She bears the name of *Sa-ra-a-a*, that is *Sarâ'a*.[2] One is naturally tempted to compare this name to *Sarai* (שָׂרַי), the by-form of *Sarah* (שָׂרָה). *Sarâ'a* would then have to be, not an Assyrian, but a Jewish name borrowed from Hebrew. The genuine Assyrian equivalent of Sarah (שָׂרָה) is, of course, *Šarratu* 'queen,' but in foreign words Hebrew שׂ or שׁ is rendered by *s* in Assyrian.[3]

The letter probably dates from the Sargonide period; and the fact that the Assyrian and not the Babylonian character is employed, as well as the title of the official to whom it is addressed, would indicate that it proceeds from an Assyrian city which contained a royal residence (Nineveh, Calah, Aššur, etc.). It is, of course, impossible to define the relations existing between Sarâ'a and the royal secretary; she was possibly his wife or a lady of his harem, and certainly one who either had or was supposed to have influence with him.

The slaves appear to have been conveyed, at some previous time, to the governor of Bît-Na'âlâni, whether by gift or purchase is not stated. The governor sold them to a certain Marduk-

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[1] Translated, with transliteration and commentary, by the present writer in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 126 (June 1896), pp. 91–93.

[2] Cf. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii. p. 260 below.

[3] See *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, August, 1887, p. 118[b].

erba, and they, having reason to object to or dread this arrangement, applied to Sarâ'a, begging her to use her influence with their former master to prevent the consummation of the bargain, perhaps by repurchasing them. The officer who had executed the bill of sale on the part of the governor was with them, ready, apparently, to hand them over to the purchaser in case their appeal failed, so that prompt action in the matter was necessary.

The letter, which is published in Harper's *Letters*, No. 220, may be thus translated :

TRANSLATION.

To my lord, the secretary of the palace, thy handmaid Sarâ'a! May Bel, Belit, ... ,[1] Belit of Babylon, Nabû, Tašmet, Ištar of Nineveh, and Ištar of Arbela bless my lord! May they grant my lord long life with health of mind and body!

The governor of Bît-Na'âlâni has sold to Marduk-erba the slaves—seven in number—whom he had from my lord. These people are now here, (and) have come to me, saying, "Inform the secretary of the palace, before we are conveyed to the house of Marduk-erba." My lord, the officer who executed the contract is now with them.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]Ana dupšar ekalli, beliia, [2]amtúka Sarâ'a!

[2]Bel, Belit, ... Belit Bâbîli, [3]Nabû, Tašmetu[m], Ištar ša Ninua, [4]Ištar ša Arba'il ana beliia [5]likrubû!

Ûme arkâti ṭâb libbi [6]ṭâb šîre ana beliia liddinû!

[7]Ardâni ša beliia, [8]ša paxâtu ša Bît-Na'âlâni (Rev.) *[1]iššû—*VII *napšâte šunu—[2]ana Marduk-erba ittedinšunu. [3]Annûšim nîše annaka šunu, [4]ittalkûnu ina muxxiia [5]mâ: "Ina pâni dupšar ekalli qibî"—[6]mâ: "adû bît Marduk-erba [7]lâ ušerabanûšina."*

[8]Rešu, belî, iqnuqúni, [9]annûšim issišunu.

20.

K 1239.

The text of this letter is published in Harper's *Letters*, No. 219, and in Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, ii. p. 48. It is written in the cursive Babylonian character, and the mention of Ezida ("the true house"), the celebrated temple of the god Nabû in Borsippa, would seem to leave little doubt as to the locality whence it proceeded. For the date, there is not sufficient evidence. The writer Bel-upâq ("Bel gives heed"),

[1] The name of another god has been obliterated here.

after the usual formula of greeting, informs his father that he has consulted the oracle in regard to a projected undertaking, and that the god has fixed upon the fourth day of the month as the most favorable occasion for entering upon it. All the necessary arrangements have been made, and the overseer, to whom the conduct of the work is to be entrusted, is fully instructed as to the bearing of the oracle, so that he may know how to select such modes of procedure as may be lucky, and avoid all that is unlucky. The letter may be translated as follows :

TRANSLATION.

Letter of Bel-upâq to Kunâ his father !

Greeting to my father !

I pray daily to Nabû and Nanâ for my father's life, and I pay heedful reverence to Ezida in thy behalf. When I consulted the god of the temple in regard to thee, he fixed upon the fourth of the month as the propitious occasion. Thy workmaster is fully instructed in regard to every matter so far as his (the god's) words are propitious.

ACCENTED TRANSLITERATION.

[1]*Duppu Bel-upâq* [2]*ana Kunâ abišu !*

[3]*Lû šulum ana abiia !*

[4]*Ûmussu Nabû u Nanâ* [5]*ana balâṭ napšâte ša abiia* [6]*uçallî, u ilku* [7]*ana Ezida* [8]*ana muxxika* [9]*kunnâk.*

[10]*Ilu mâr bîti* ana* [11]*muxxika* (Edge) [12]*kî* [13]*aš'alu,* (Rev.) [1]*adannu ša šulum* [2]*adî ûmi rebî iççabta.* [3]*Ana mimma kalâma,* [4]*mala dibbušu* [5]*šulum, ummânka* [6]*xusau.*

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* A god *Mâr-bîti* seems to be mentioned III R 66, 11 b. rev., but this may be merely an epithet like other names in the same column. It seems better to read as above.

M^epharr^eshē and M^ephōrāsh.—By Dr. Charles Cutler Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

The publication of the Lewis palimpsest of the Syriac Gospels has called attention anew to the problematic ܡܦܪܫܐ, which has so long been the subject of controversy. The word first came prominently into notice when Cureton edited his "Antient Recension" of the four Gospels, in 1858. Prefixed to the First Gospel, in his manuscript, was the title ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܫܐ ܡܬܝ. Cureton confessed himself puzzled by this, but proposed to read ܕ before ܡܬܝ,[1] and translate, "The distinct Gospel of Matthew." Concerning this designation he said (Preface, p. vi): "It seems to me that whatever meaning is to be given to the word ܡܦܪܫܐ, it is intended to denote that, in some way or other, the Gospel of St. Matthew is to be regarded as distinct from the other three Gospels in this copy." He then argues that it *is* 'distinct' from the others, inasmuch as its text is superior to theirs, being probably translated directly from the original Aramaic of St. Matthew.

As might be expected, this interpretation of ܡܦܪܫܐ did not meet with favor. Aside from the objection to the reading ܕܡܬܝ (see note above), the theory of such a title of the First Gospel was too improbable in itself. Bernstein, to whom Cureton submitted the problem, preferred to translate, "Evangelium per anni circulum dispositum," i. e., divided into lections; appealing in support of this to Assemani's rendering of the same expression, ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܫܐ, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii. 230. But to this Cureton replied, that in his manuscript there were no traces of an original division into lections, and that therefore Assemani's rendering would be quite inapplicable.[2] This objection was very hard to meet; still, Bernstein's explanation was adopted by many, as being at any rate better than Cureton's.

The recently discovered Lewis palimpsest furnishes important evidence at this point. At the end of the Gospel of John there

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[1] What seemed to furnish ground for the conjecture was the presence of a small hole in the parchment at just this point, evidently made after the writing was finished, as it destroyed part of the last letter of the preceding word. But scholars since Cureton have been unanimous in the opinion that the remaining space is too narrow to have contained the letter ܕ. See Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 74; and the fac-simile in Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. i.

[2] For further notice of the passage in Assemani, see below.

is a colophon, beginning as follows : ܫܠܡ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܣܦܪ̈ܝܢ., "Here ends the [...?...] Gospel, four books." This puts an end at once to the theories of both Bernstein and Cureton; for in this manuscript also there are no traces of an original division into lections. It is equally decisive against the theory advocated by Gildemeister in the Z.D.M.G., xiii. 472 ff., that the title in Cureton's recension should be translated, "Evangelium des auserlesenen [Evangelisten] Matthaeus"; a designation which he explained by comparing Rom. i. 1, "set apart for the Gospel," and supposed to have been especially applied to the evangelist Matthew by the early Christian church.[1]

Some of the examples cited by Gildemeister in the course of his argument showed that derivatives of the verb ܦܪܫ are frequently used in titles of Syriac *lectionaries* (*l. c.*, p. 473). A manuscript containing the prescribed readings for the year, made up of sections from the Gospels following one another in arbitrary order, is described in its title as ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܩܪ̈ܝܢܐ ܡܦܪ̈ܫܐ; or ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܡܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܫܢܬܐ; or simply by the term ܦܘܪ̈ܫܐ, or ܦܘܪܫ ܩܪ̈ܝܢܐ; and so on. On the other hand, Gildemeister recognized the fact that in the case of a manuscript like Cureton's any such explanation of the title is out of the question.

In the example cited from Assemani's *Bibl. Or.*, ii. 230, there is nothing to indicate that a lectionary is intended. The passage is in a document, written at the end of the fifteenth century, in which the writer narrates how he and his brethren had been obliged to sell some of the books belonging to their convent, among them an ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪ̈ܫܐ. In view of what we already know of this singular expression, we can hardly doubt that he is here designating the codex by its own written title, and that we thus learn of a *third* copy of the Gospels bearing the same perplexing title as the Lewis palimpsest and the Curetonian manuscript—for it is now generally agreed that in the last-named codex the words in question formed the title of the whole book, not of the first Gospel.

To these examples is to be added, further, the gloss in Bar Bahlul, cited by Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 579. It reads: ܒܪ ܐܒܐ. ܗ̄. ܝܫܘܥ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܒܐ. ܗܟܢ ܕܝܢ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪ̈ܫܐ.[2] ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܘܬܢ ܠܐ. From this gloss we learn nothing more than this, that at the time when it was written the reading that inserts the name Jesus at this point was adopted in at least

[1] His chief argument in support of this was the fact that in a few Arabic codices Matthew is called متى المصطفى.

[2] Viz. in Matt. xxvii. 16. See the Lewis palimpsest. The reading is also found in the Jerus. Syriac (ed. Erizzo, 1861, p. 398; also in vs. 17), in the Armenian version, and in a few Greek minuscules.

one well-known Syriac recension of the Gospels. It is plain, moreover, that the explanations of the term ܦܪܫܐ above noticed cannot possibly be made to apply here.

One more attempted explanation of the term remains to be considered; namely, that defended at length by Th. Zahn in his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 1881, p. 105–111;[1] also adopted, with some hesitation, in Wright's *Syriac Literature*, 1894, p. 8 f.[2] According to this view, ܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܦܪܫܐ, 'separate (?) Gospels,' was employed as the opposite of ܐ, ܕܡܫܚܠܐ 'mixed *Gospels*,' a term used in describing Tatian's *Diatessaron* (see Zahn, *Forschungen*, p. 98–105). In support of this translation a single passage is cited, found in a code of church laws promulgated by Rabbūla of Edessa (412–435 A. D.).[3] A long series of commonplace regulations for the guidance of the clergy contains the following: "Let the elders and deacons take care that there be in every church a copy of the ܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܦܪܫܐ, and that it be read." This is interpreted as an utterance belonging to the reaction against the general use of Tatian's Harmony in the churches of that region, as though Rabbūla would say: 'See to it that *the separate Gospels* are not neglected for the Diatessaron."[4]

It should be noticed that this interpretation of the word in the passage quoted is not in any way suggested by the context. The rules immediately preceding and following are of the most commonplace character. If the word ܦܪܫܐ were omitted altogether, the passage would still read smoothly, and yield a sense well suited to its surroundings.

Moreover, ܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܦܪܫܐ would be a singular way of expressing the idea '*separate* Gospels.' For '*separated* Gospels' the expression might serve, though a little unusual. But there could

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[1] See also his *Geschichte des neutestl. Kanons*, 1888, i. 392 ff.

[2] Duval, in Brockelmann's *Lex. Syr.*, p. 507, cites as a supporter of this view Tixeront, *Les Origines de l' Église d' Édesse*, p. 131, a book which I have not seen.

[3] The text in Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri aliorumque opera selecta*, p. 220.

[4] Zahn's theory of the Diatessaron and its importance for the history of the Syriac Gospels is much overworked by him. See for example his *Forschungen*, p. 108, note 1, where he refers to *Bibl. Or.*, ii. 225, ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܥܕܬܐ, saying: "Ich weiss nicht, ob dieser befremdliche Ausdruck *quatuor parva evangelia* [Assemani's trans.], für welchen auch P. Smith nur dieses Beispiel hat, einen Gegensatz bilden soll zum Diatessaron." On the contrary, this is a very natural way of writing *quatuor tetraevangelia;* a combination that would very seldom occur, and for which the usual ܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ could not be used, as it would certainly be misunderstood.

be no reason for speaking of the four Gospels as 'separated'; least of all if they were to be contrasted, *as the original form*, with a mixture like the Diatessaron. The appeal to ܐ ܕܡܚܠܛܐ is not justified. The Syriac has its recognized ways of expressing the idea supposed to be intended here (the opposite of 'mixed'), and the phrase under discussion is not among them.

Finally, Zahn's interpretation is disposed of once for all by the fact that *the Psalms*, as well as the Gospels, are given this same perplexing title. In Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, No. 168, a copy of the Peshitto Psalms (dated A. D. 600), bears this superscription: ܟܬܒܐ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܕܡܦܪܫܐ, "Book of the [...?...] Psalms of David." Wright translated, "of the Interpreters," or "of the Translators," but added that this would be a very strange title.

In the superscription of the next following MS. (No. 169) in this Catalogue, also a copy of the Peshitto Psalms, the word appears again, used in precisely the same way.

This seems to defy translation. These copies of the Psalms are not 'divided' into lections. They are not 'separated' or 'distinguished' from anything else. Wright's rendering, "of the Interpreters, or Translators," is, as he confesses, only a makeshift, lacking all external support or internal probability. Besides, the *nomen agentis* of ܦܪܫ would be ܡܦܪܫܢܐ, not ܡܦܪܫܐ.

It must be beyond all question that the use of ܕܡܦܪܫܐ as here applied to the Psalter is identical with that described above, where it is applied to the four Gospels. The fact suggests what is apparently the only solution, namely, that the troublesome word is simply one form of the adjective '*sacred, holy*,' which so often occupies this place in titles of books of the Bible. That is, ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܫܐ is equivalent to ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ.[1] So far as etymology is concerned, the hypothesis has everything in its favor. In the speech of the Jews, the 'sacred' thing was that which was 'separated, set apart,' as the history of the root קדש illustrates. The root פרש also, in both Hebrew and Aramaic usage, furnishes analogies of its own, as will be seen. The single objection, which at once suggests itself, is this: If the participle ܡܦܪܫ was thus fixed in usage, in the signification 'holy,' how is it that so few examples of the usage have reached us? And why did tradition fail to preserve the meaning of the word?

Before attempting to answer these questions, there is another series of facts of which notice must be taken; namely, those

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[1] Thus Cureton's MS. bears the former of these two titles in the original hand; the other is added in another place by a later hand. See his edition, p. iv.

connected with the use of the Jewish word מְפוֹרָשׁ. This word, which is in form the exact Hebrew counterpart of ܦܫܝܛܐ, presents also in the history of its use and interpretation a very striking parallel to the facts above stated. The root פרשׁ, in Hebrew, and especially in Aramaic, is in common use in a variety of significations corresponding in general to those belonging to the Syriac root, being all more or less directly traceable to the underlying idea of separating or dividing. In a single well known phrase, found not infrequently in the early Jewish literature, the use of the root has remained obscure, no one of the recognized meanings seeming to meet the requirements. How to translate the phrase שם המפורש, has been a much discussed question. Among modern German scholars, in particular, a good many different renderings have been proposed and skilfully defended, although no one of them has met with general approval. Thus: 'der erklärte, ausgelegte Name,' a favorite rendering since Martin Luther (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*, col. 1851); 'der unerklärte Name' (see Z.D.M.G., xxxix. 543 f.); 'der ausdrückliche Name' (Geiger[1] and many others); 'der deutlich ausgesprochene Name' (Fürst,[2] Levy[3]); 'der nicht auszusprechende Name' (Grünbaum[4]); 'der volle Gottesname' (Wünsche[5]); 'der abgesonderte, ausgezeichnete Name' (Nestle[6]); 'der geheime Name,' a rendering which has had many adherents since Bar Bahlul's ܫܡܐ ܓܠܝܐ (see Bernstein in Z.D.M.G., iv. 200).

The two words מפרשׁ and ܦܫܝܛܐ coincide, then, in the following particulars: 1. In form; 2. Each defies translation in a single fixed expression, where it is used adjectively; 3. The Hebrew adjective is applied to the name of God; the Syriac, to the Scriptures; 4. In the case of both words, the peculiar use seems to belong chiefly to the early centuries of the Christian era, after which it disappears, to be resurrected occasionally as an antiquity whose original meaning can only be guessed at. These coincidences are too many and too striking to be accidental. It is plain that we have here Hebrew[7] and Syriac forms of the same word in the same unusual signification. That the signification *is* an unusual one, may be inferred from a glance at the partial list of attempted translations recorded above. Grünbaum, in his exhaustive treatment of the subject, reaches the correct conclusion, that מפורשׁ in this phrase is *an artificial word*, coined for this particular use (*l. c.*, p. 556). He remarks

[1] *Urschrift*, p. 264.
[2] Z.D.M.G., xxxiii. p. 297–301.
[3] *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterb.*, iv. p. 570.
[4] Z.D.M.G., xxxix. 543–616; xl. 234–304.
[5] *Der Midrasch Kohelet*, p. 47 f.
[6] Z.D.M.G., xxxii. 465–508.
[7] Also Aramaic, שמא מפרשא.

further, that it must have been intended to express the most marked characteristic of the Name (*ibid.*, p. 545). But when he adds, as the minor premise of his argument, "Nur mit Bezug auf das Nichtaussprechen nimmt das Tetragrammaton einen höheren Rang und eine gesonderte Stellung ein" (p. 560), he seems to turn aside from the essential fact to follow what is only incidental. The Tetragrammaton was absolutely unique, far above all other names or words, because it was *the peculiar name of the holy, unapproachable God.* It expressed Him, and was invested with His own character. Above all else, it was קדוש. Similarly, in the Christian church, the Scriptures, dictated by God himself, were *holy* in a way, and to a degree, that could apply to nothing else on earth.

That the Hebrew-Aramaic root פרש was not infrequently used in designating that which was 'set apart, sacred, holy,' is a fact that scarcely needs extended illustration. In the Midrash *Wayyiqra R.*, sec. 24,[1] the words of Lev. xix. 2, קדשים תהיו כי כשם קדוש אני יהוה אלהיכם are paraphrased as follows: שאני פרוש כך תהיו פרושים כשם שאני קדוש כך תהיו קדושים. Cf. also the name of the sect of the Pharisees, פרושים (חסידים). Other examples are given by Grünbaum, p. 556. There are not wanting passages, moreover, in which the Aramaic שמא מפרשא is used in such a way as to leave no doubt that it is intended as an equivalent, or something more than an equivalent, of שמא קדישא. Thus in the Palestinian Targums on Ex. xxviii. 30, xxxii. 25, cited by Buxtorf, *Lex*, col. 2438 f., שמא מפרשא is used interchangeably with שמא רבא וקדישא (ויקירא). This is also the case in the Targums on Lev. xxiv. 11.[2] Another most interesting illustration, of a somewhat different character, is furnished by the Targ. on Judges xiii. 18: "Why dost thou ask my name, seeing that it is מפרש?" The word here represents the Heb. פלאי, which is used as in Ps. cxxxix. 6 for *that which is beyond the reach of human comprehension, high above all earthly things.* Here, again, the idea is closely akin to that underlying the word קדוש. In this passage, מפרש could hardly be called a translation of פלאי; it was probably suggested by שם המפרש; still, the two adjectives cannot be far removed from each other in signification, for the context, taken in connection with the evident meaning of פלא, leaves small choice. In

[1] Cited by Grünbaum, as are most of the other passages referred to in the sequel.

[2] Cf. further, Targ. on Deut. xxviii. 58.

fact, this passage gives us unquestionably one of the best aids to determining just what the Jews meant by שם המפורש.[1] The word קדוש was applied to a great variety of beings, objects, and names. But the ineffable Name was more than קדוש, or at least, was קדוש in an especial sense; it was פלאי. Thus it came about most naturally that for the Name, separate and unapproachable in its sanctity,[2] incomprehensible to mortals, the special adjective מְפָרַשׁ, Heb. מְפוֹרָשׁ, *holy*, was coined.

The borrowing of the word by the Syriac church, as a special designation of the Holy Scriptures, is one more striking illustration among many of the extent to which this branch of the early Christian church availed itself of Jewish instruction and Jewish training. This use of ܡܦܪܫܢܐ, however, seems to have been at least as short-lived as was the use of its original in Jewish literature. It was probably never very widely employed, and can have been actually current only during a comparatively brief period.

The disappearance of the word from usage and tradition, among both Jews and Christians, is easily accounted for. Being an artificial coinage, and belonging to a root employed in so many ways as פרש ܦܪܫ, its original signification easily became obscured, and it soon lost its hold. We have abundant illustration of the fact that the same form מפרש, bearing meanings totally different from the above, can be used in connection with the name of God in a way that is most bewildering. Such passages as the Targums on Eccles. iii. 11; Cant. ii. 17; Lev. xxiv. 11, cf. *Sanhedr.* vii. 7; Jer. Targ. on Ex. xxxii. 25, &c., have often led investigators astray. In the case of some of these passages, it is difficult to avoid the impression that there is an intentional play upon the word. For illustration of similar possibilities of confusion in the use of the Syriac form ܡܦܪܫܢܐ, see the colophon to MS. Hunt. 109 in the Bodleian Library (Payne Smith, *Catal.*, no. 7, col. 42), and the examples collected by Gildemeister, cited above.

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[1] See Moore, *Judges*, p. 322.

[2] Cf. also the phrases שם המיחד, שם הנברל (see references in Nestle, *l. c.*, p. 505; Buxtorf, col. 2433 f.).

Notes on Buddhist Art.—By Dr. Sergěj Fedorovič Oldenburg, Privat-Docent for Sanskrit, University of St. Petersburg, Russia.—Translated from the Russian by Leo Wiener, Instructor in the Slavic Languages, Harvard University.

Editorial Note.

This paper appeared in the collection entitled *Vostočnyja Zamětki* ('Oriental Notes') of the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the University of St. Petersburg, and was published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg in 1895. The Faculty's permission to print is dated August 25, 1894. My attention was first called to it by a brief report of its results in JRAS. for July, 1896, pages 623–627.

I had long been collecting materials for an orderly report upon the identifications of the Jātaka-sculptures; and this fact made me desirous to see in English dress the results of Dr. Oldenburg's studies. My wish was seconded by Dr. Oldenburg, who very kindly sent me a reprint of his paper. Such considerations apart, however, the publication of the author's results in this Journal seems amply warranted by their intrinsic interest, and by the value which they have, not only for students of Buddhist art, but also for students of comparative literature. What better vouchers could we have for the antiquity of the Jātaka stories than are the stone-cut illustrations of them which adorn the rails of the Bharhut tope?

The paper covers pages **337–365** of the quarto from which it is reprinted. I have indicated the beginning of each page of the Russian original by giving its number in **Clarendon type** in square brackets in the translation.

The paper consists of two parts. The prior and more important one, pages 337-359, is entitled "On some sculptures and pictorial representations of the Buddhist Jātakas at Bharhut, Ajaṇṭā, and Boro-Boedoer." The second part, pages 359–365, is entitled "On Khotan bronzes from the collection of N. F. Petrovskij." This second part, for lack of space, we have omitted.

The thanks of the Society, and my personal thanks as well, are due to my colleague, Mr. Wiener, who with the greatest kindness volunteered to make an English version of the essay.—C. R. Lanman.

I. On some sculptures and pictorial representations of the Buddhist Jatakas at Bharhut, Ajanta, and Boro-Boedoer.[1]

Buddhist artists began very early to represent with chisel and brush not only figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other Buddhist teachers and saints, but also episodes from the last earthly existence of the master, and from the series of his former incarnations, the stories of which are told in the Jātakas. The caves, stūpas, and temples are covered with numerous representations of this kind; but only a part of these treasures is accessible to us in trustworthy reproductions; and of these, only a small part has been satisfactorily explained. In the course of my Buddhistic studies, I have had frequent occasion to refer to these extra-literary monuments, and have succeeded in ascertaining the meaning of certain representations, especially of the Jātakas. I here offer some of these observations, and hope in time to give a more systematic and complete investigation of the material at hand so far as it bears on the relation of Buddhist art to Buddhist teaching and legends. In these notes I shall touch on the stūpa of Bharhut, the caves of Ajaṇṭā, and the temple of Boro-Boedoer.

Before passing over to the discussion of the representations themselves, I shall make a remark of a general character in regard to such deductions concerning the antiquity of Buddhist sacred literature as are based on the extra-literary monuments and the inscriptions frequently found [338] upon them; I shall dwell upon the latest statement of the kind by Professor Bühler in his excellent article on the origin of the Indian alphabet known as Brāhmī lipi.[2] Professor Bühler thinks that the data given in the Pāli canon may refer to the fifth and perhaps even to the sixth century B. C. And then he assumes that the Pāli collection of the Jātakas formed, as early as the third century B. C., part of the "Buddhist canon" (which he evidently identifies with the Pāli canon), and that the latter was then "fully settled."[3] As to referring the data of the Pāli canon to the fifth and sixth century, I shall merely direct the reader to the articles by I. P. Minaev, who has made a minute investigation of this opinion, and who, it seems to me, has conclusively overthrown it.[4] In regard to the Jātakas I will say that it is impossible to combine the verses and the prose in them, as the prose, according to the

[1] For *Boodoor* or *Boudour*, I retain the familiar Dutch spelling *Boedoer*.

[2] Bühler, G., "On the origin of the Indian Brāhma alphabet." *Indian Studies*, no. III., SB. W. A. Ph.-H. Cl., Vol. cxxxii., No. v. (1895).

[3] L. c., pages 15 and 17.

[4] Minaev, I. P., "Novyja izslědovanija o buddizmě," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija* (Ž. M. N. P.), 1882, July, 102 ff., October, 402 ff.

testimony of tradition itself, belongs to a later time. The only quotation known to us from the Jātaka on a Bharhut inscription[1] is the beginning of a verse. Comparisons with Sanskrit Jātakas containing verses (the number of such Jātakas now accessible to us is very limited) prove that the Jātakas are almost identical in the poetical part, but that they differ widely in the prose parts in the different redactions. All that the presence of a Jātaka on a bas-relief conclusively proves is that the subject or the fable was known at a given time; but it is impossible to say what the form was, or whether it coincided with the text that we possess; the representations give us only a small number of details; and besides we do not know how closely the artists of that time were in the habit of following the text which they illustrated.[2] Thus, for example, it is difficult to say precisely why the artist in representing the Dabbha-puppha-jātaka, called Uda on the bas-relief (below, No. 39), has depicted a [339] hermit of whom the text says nothing, and why he did not represent the tree-god as which Buddha[3] was then incarnate. Probably we have here really an illustration to a somewhat different text; and that such a one may have existed we see from a Tibetan text, evidently translated from the Sanskrit,[4] which resembles essentially the Pāli version, but differs from it very much in particulars.

An incontestable proof that the Bharhut representations of the Jātakas do not form illustrations to the canonical text of the Pāli Jātakas[5] we find in the following: one of the Jātakas is called in the bas-relief Yava-majhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ; there is no such Jātaka in the Pāli collection; but, as I. P. Minaev[6] was the first to show, there is in the Mahā-ummagga-jātaka an episode similar to the one represented in the bas-relief. The difference in naming one and the same Jātaka may not be a conclusive proof, since sometimes even the Pāli Jātaka-manuscripts themselves give different names

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[1] Hultzsch, E., "Bharaut inscriptions," *Indian Antiquary*, xxi. 226.

[2] [Editor's note.—The Arāma-dūsaka Jātaka well illustrates how congruent in essentials and how discrepant in details are the sculptures and the canonical text. In the first version of this story, Fausböll, i. 250[11], the king's gardener gives the monkeys water-skins and wooden watering-pots to use in watering the garden—in Pāli, *cammaṇḍe* ('skin-bags?') *c'eva dārukuṭe ca;* in the second, F., ii. 345[14], he gives them for the same purpose skin-vessels—in Pāli, *cammaghaṭake;* while in the Bharhut sculpture the monkeys are using earthen chatties slung in nettings.

Again, in the Mahā-ummagga, the virtuous wife puts the men, according to Minaev's version, p. 190 below, 'in a basket' (*v korzinu*); and in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, the prudent Upakoçā puts her four would-be lovers 'in a big chest with bolts' (*mañjūṣā*, etc., iv. 48); while in the Bharhut sculpture, xxv. 3 (see No. 5 in the List), the men have been put in three baskets.—C. R. L.]

[3] Compare Warren, S. J., *Two Bas-reliefs*, etc., p. 17.

[4] See Schiefner, A., *Tibetan tales derived from Indian sources*, London, 1882, pages 382–384, The two Otters and the Jackal.

[5] See Bühler, l. c., 16.

[6] Minaev, I. P., *Buddizm*, vol. i., St. Petersburg, 1887, pages 151–154.

to one and the same text; but the elevation of the episode into a separate Jātaka serves, in my opinion, as a manifest indication that the Bharhut artist did not have at his hand the Pāli text as we know it. The supposition that the Yava-majhakiya may be the name for the whole Mahā-ummagga-jātaka appears to me entirely incredible. If Hultzsch's identification[1] of the Kinara-jātaka (see below, No. 14) with the episode in the Takkâriya-jātaka (as opposed to its identification with the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka accepted by Warren and me) is correct, we still have a second case similar to the one just adduced. Sacred books, no doubt, existed among the Buddhists in very remote times; inscriptions and extra-literary monuments sufficiently prove this, but only this. We have no definite ancient indications of a canon or canons. We cannot regard the collections of Buddhist books [340] which have come down to us in Chinese and Tibetan translations as "*disjecta membra* of ancient tradition,"[2] because we do not know with what whole collection to compare them, since the composite Pāli canon, many parts of which are undoubtedly of late origin, can in no way in its entirety be the original old Buddhist canon, if such a canon ever existed.

1. Bharhut.

It will be useful at this point, I think, to give the literature of the subject so far as I know it.

1. Cunningham, Alexander. *The stūpa of Bharhut: a Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures illustrative of Buddhist legend and history in the third century B. C.* London, 1879.

2. Rhys Davids, T. W. *Buddhist birth stories; or Jātaka tales.* Translation. London, 1880. See Introduction, pages ciii–ciii.

3. Anderson, John. *Catalogue and hand-book of the archæological collections in the Indian Museum.* Calcutta, 1883. Part I. Pages xii–xx (key to the Bharhut stūpa), and 1–120 (gateway and railing of the Bharhut stūpa).

4. Hoernle, A. F. R. "Readings from the Bharhut stūpa." *Indian Antiquary*, x. 118–121 and 255–259 (1881); xi. 25–32 (1882).

5. Beal, Samuel. "Remarks on the Bharhut sculptures and inscriptions." *Ind. Ant.*, xi. 47–50 (1882).

6. Dickson, J. F. "The popular acceptance of the Jātakas as shown in picture stories and sculptures." *Journal of the Ceylon Branch* RAS., viii., No. 28 (1884), 130–139 (in the article "Papers on the first fifty Jātakas," edited by the Right Rev. R. S. Copleston, Lord Bishop of Colombo).

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[1] See Hultzsch, E., l. c., p. 226.

[2] Bühler, l. c., p. 17, note 2.

7. Hultzsch, E. "Ueber eine Sammlung indischer Handschriften und Inschriften." ZDMG. xl. 1–80 (Bharhut-Inschriften, 58–80) (1886).

8. Minaev, I. P. *Buddizm. Izslědovanija i Materialy.* St. Petersburg, 1887. i. 97–184. (Bharhutskaja stūpa. Bharhutskie obraza i nadpisi. Drevnebuddijskij kul't po bharhutskim barel'efam.)

9. Zoysa, L. de. "Notes on certain Jātakas relative to the sculptures recently discovered in North India." *Journal of the Ceylon Branch* RAS., x., No. 35 (1887), 175–218. Posthumous publication. In the Appendix is reprinted the correspondence of several savants in regard to the Bharhut stūpa previous to the publication of Cunningham's book, and, further, the list of the 550 Jātakas of the Pāli collection.

10. Warren, S. J. *Two bas-reliefs of the stupa of Bharhut, explained by S. J. Warren.* Leiden, 1890.

11. Tawney, C. "Mahā-kapi-jātaka." *Proceedings* ASB., Aug., 1891, pages 120–122.

12. Warren, S. J. "Heilige Fabels, IV., V." *De Gids*, 1893, No. 7. For the references to Mr. Warren's two essays I am indebted to the kindness of Professor H. Kern.

13. Hultzsch, E. "Bharaut inscriptions." *Ind. Ant.*, xxi. 225–242 (1892).

Of all Buddhist sacred edifices, so far, at least, as they have been up to the present time investigated, undoubtedly the oldest is the Bharhut Stūpa, which was probably built in the third or second century B. C. [341] Along with a large number of other sculptures, it has preserved for us sculptured representations of a whole series of Jātakas; but of these at present only one-half can be explained. On some of these Jātaka-sculptures are inscribed the names of the stories which they illustrate; in other cases the inscriptions have been destroyed through the decay of the stone; and in others still there have been no names from the start. In some representations (the medallions), several distinct scenes are combined in one sculpture; and these we must carefully separate and analyze when we wish to explain them. So, for example, the coping-sculpture of the Uda-jātaka (below, p. 189, No. 39), which Cunningham, in his description,[1] speaks of as containing only one scene, contains in reality two scenes: namely, one in which the jackal decides the discussion of the otters in regard to the fish; and another, in which the jackal goes away with a piece of fish in his jaws. Similarly in the medallion of the Isi-simgiya-jātaka (see below, No. 9), we are to look not for one scene, as Cunningham says,[2] but for three scenes: 1. The doe is licking up the semen of the hermit which has fallen to the earth; 2. The birth

[1] Cunningham, l. c., page 75.

[2] Cunningham, l. c., p. 64.

of the boy; 3. The hermit is lighting a fire. In the representation of the Miga-jātaka (see below, No. 3), there are also three scenes: 1. The Ruru doe swims across a river with a man on her back; 2. The king starts out to hunt the doe; 3. The king speaks respectfully to the doe.

I thought it would be most convenient to make a table of all the Jātaka-sculptures and then to explain such as need any explanation.

List of bas-reliefs with Jatakas on the Bharhut Stupa.

[The Arabic numerals in the first column are simply current numbers for convenience of reference. The Roman numerals in the second column refer to the Plates in Cunningham's *Bharhut*, and the Arabic numerals to the right of the Roman refer to the figures on those Plates. The third column gives the inscriptions where there are any. The Arabic numerals in the fourth column refer to the current numbers of the Jātaka-tales in Fausböll's edition or to those of Westergaard's catalogue (W.). The fifth column gives the names, as printed by Fausböll, of the several Jātakas with which the sculptures referred to in column 1 are now identified. Stars placed before the numbers in the first column indicate that there is a note referring to that number in the Notes which follow the List.—ED.]

1.	XVIII.		Vitura Punakiya jatakaṁ	W. 537	Vidhūra-paṇḍita
2.	XIX.		Braṁhadevo mānavako		?
*3.	XXV.	1	Miga jātakaṁ	482	Ruru
4.	XXV.	2	Nāga jātaka	267	Kakkaṭa
*5.	XXV.	3	Yavamajhakiyaṁ jātakaṁ	W. 538	In Mahā-ummagga
*6.	XXV.	4	Mugapakaya [jā]-taka	W. 530	Mūga-pakkha
7.	XXVI.	5	Laṭuvā jātaka	357	Laṭukika
*8.	XXVI.	6	Chadaṁtiya jātakaṁ	514	Chaddanta
9.	XXVI.	7	Isi-siṁgi[ya jā]-ta[ka]	523	Alambusa
*10.	XXVI.	8	Yaṁ bram[h]ano avayesi jatakaṁ	62	Aṇḍa-bhūta
11.	XXVII.	9		206	Kuruṅga-miga
*12.	XXVII.	10		349	Saṁdhi-bheda (?)
13.	XXVII.	11	Haṁsa jātaka	32	Nacca
*14.	XXVII.	12	Kinara jātaka	504	Bhallāṭiya
15.	XXVII.	13		181	Asadisa
*16.	XXVII.	14			?
17.	XXVII.	Fragm.			?
18.	XXXIII.	1-3			?

19.	XXXIII.	4		407	Mahā-kapi
20.	XXXIII.	5			?
21.	XXXIII.	6			?
22.	XXXIII.	7			?
23.	XXXIV.	1			?
24.	XXXIV.	2			?
25.	XXXIV.	3			?
26.	XL.	2-5			?
*27.	XLI.	1,3		324	Camma-sāṭaka
28.	XLI.	5			?
29.	XLII.	1,5			?
30.	XLII.	7,9			?
*31.	XLIII.	2,8	Isi-migo jataka	372	Miga-potaka
32.	XLIV.	2	U..... Jānako rāja Sivala devi	W. 531	Mahā-janaka
33.	XLIV.	4			?
34.	XLIV.	6			?
35.	XLV.	3			?
36.	XLV.	5		46 & 268	Arāma-dūsaka
*37.	XLV.	7		42	Kapota
38.	XLV.	9	Citupādasila		?
39.	XLVI.	2	Uda jataka	400	Dabbha-puppha
40.	XLVI.	4			?
41.	XLVI.	6			?
42.	XLVI.	8	Secha jataka	174	Dūbhiya-makkaṭa
43.	XLVII.	3	Sujato gahuto jataka	352	Sujāta
44.	XLVII.	5	Biḍala jata[ka], Kukuṭa jataka	383	Kukkuṭa
45.	XLVII.	7	Daḍanikamo cakama		?
46.	XLVII.	9	Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigāla ñati		?
47.	XLVIII.	2	Maghādeviya jatakaṁ	9	Makhā-deva
48.	XLVIII.	7	Bhisa-haraniya jataka	488	Bhisa
49.	XLVIII.	9,11	Veḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate		?
			Jabū Naḍode pavate		?
50.	Cunningham, l. c., preface, p. vi.			W. 539	Vessantara

[Page 342 of the original Russian begins with No. 12; and page 343 with No. 44.]

Notes to the starred numbers in the foregoing list.

[Editorial Note to No. 3. "This is rather the Nigrodha Miga Jātaka, No. 12, as is clear from the doe in the front of the scene laying her head on the block."—Rhys Davids, JRAS., 1896, p. 623.]

Note to No. 5. This Jātaka was for the first time explained by I. P. Minaev, who gave a translation of the corresponding text. As the Pāli text is not published, I shall give here Minaev's translation.[1]

"When they found out in the city," so it is told in the Pāli version of the sacred tradition, "that the wise man had run away, there arose a great noise. When Senaka and the other wise men (enemies of him who had fled) heard of his flight, they began to say, 'Don't worry, for are not we wise men?'

"Without saying anything to each other, they sent each one a present[2] to Amarādevī (that is the wise woman).

"The wise woman took the presents and said to each one: 'Come at such and such a time.' When they came, she shaved their heads and threw them into the sink.

"After having vexed the wise men for a while, she put them in a basket. Having informed the king, and taking with her the four jewels together with the four wise men, she went into the castle of the king, bowed before the king, and then stood still.

"'King,' said the wise woman, 'not the wise Mahosadha is the thief, but here are the thieves, etc.'

"And then the wise woman disclosed how the adversaries of her husband had stolen the jewels of the king and had sent them to her, while they calumniated her husband."

Note to No. 6. This is, as has already been pointed out by Cunningham and Rhys Davids, the Mūga-pakkha-jātaka, i. e. the 'Jātaka of the dumb cripple.' Its contents have been given by I. P. Minaev.[3] A translation from the [344] Burmese has been made by St. Andrew St. John.[4] The Tibetan version was translated by Schiefner.[5] On the bas-relief there are three scenes: in the first, prince Temiya is on his knees before his father; in the second, the prince is taken to the woods, and they are digging a hole for him; the third may be explained in two ways: *a*, the king is visiting the prince, who has become a hermit

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[1] Minaev, I. P., *Buddizm*, 152–153.

[2] The presents were things that had been stolen from the king.

[3] Minaev, I. P., "Indějskija skazki," Ž. M. N. P., 1876, ii. 399–400.

[4] R. F. St. Andrew St. John, "Temiya Jātaka Vatthu," JRAS., 1893, pages 357–391.

[5] Schiefner, A., *Tibetan Tales*, 247–256. (XIV., The dumb cripple.) I cannot refrain from pointing out the incontestible connection of this Jātaka with the story of the prince, in the Arabian-Persian version of Barlam and Joasaf. Compare "Persidskij izvod povĕsti o Varlaamě i Ioasafě," Z. V. O., iv. 243 ff.

(against this, however, speaks the fact that in the Burmese text, which is translated from the Pāli, the king visits the prince in the monastery); *b*, the prince goes into the woods to be initiated by a hermit (according to the Tibetan version).

[Note to No. 8. Cf. No. 4 in the Ajaṇṭā list, below.]

Note to No. 10. Dr. Hultzsch was the first to point out (*Ind. Ant.* xxi. 227, 239) that this quotation is the beginning of a first verse of the Pāli text.

Note to No. 12. See the translation below. I am not quite sure of its identification, as I cannot understand why the jackal is represented with one foot in the snare.

Note to No. 14. This Jātaka has been explained in three ways: Cunningham and Rhys Davids saw in it the Canda-kinnara-jātaka, No. 485; Hultzsch sees in it an episode from the Takkāriya-jātaka, No. 481, Fausböll, iv., pages 252–254; Warren and I see in it the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka, No. 504; the bas-relief represents the king listening to the complaints of the two kinnaras. The first and second explanations, however, are quite probable; only it is impossible to say with entire confidence which one of the three is the correct one, as the representation is not at all characteristic, and lacks all details in execution. I must here say that only a drawing and not a photograph of it is accessible to me. [The Canda Kinnara is also illustrated in R. Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, plate xxxiv. 2.]

Note to No. 16. In this representation Cunningham and Rhys Davids and Hultzsch see the Dasaratha-jātaka, No. 461. I am not convinced of the correctness of this identification, and I regard the bas-relief as unexplained.

Note to No. 27. The bas-relief represents in two scenes the Camma-sāṭaka-jātaka (see below, p. 194): 1, a monk enters, a ram and a wise [345] merchant being on the scene; 2, the ram has butted the monk, who has fallen down, and the merchant is reading him a moral. It is curious that on the bas-relief the monk is represented with a burden; this corresponds to the verses of the Jātaka, but not to the commentary in prose. The latter not only does not say anything about the burden, but even says explicitly that the monk was begging alms, that is, that he went with a bowl.

Note to No. 31. I connect the bas-reliefs 2 and 8, and regard them as two scenes of the Miga-potaka-jātaka (see translation, p. 194): 1, the meeting of the hermit with the doe; the hermit has just entered the woods; 2, the hermit mourns for the dead doe; Sakka admonishes him. In view of such an explanation, I cannot agree with the identification of Hultzsch, who himself, by the way, hesitatingly suggests the Nigrodhamiga-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 12).

Note to No. 37. I see in the given bas-relief the Kapota-jātaka (see page 195, below), other versions of which are found also in the Jātaka, Numbers 274 and 375 and 395. Here is represented the scene in which the crow flies to the dove which

is sitting in a basket, or else that in which the dove admonishes the crow that pretends to be sick.

A great number of the Jātakas which had been explained heretofore had at the very start been pointed out by Cunningham with the aid of Subhūti; these are those numbered in my table 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, (according to I. P. Minaev's indication) 10, 11, 13, 15, 32, 43, 44, 47, 50; Rhys Davids was the first to explain no. 42; Warren, 39, 48; Minaev, 5; Hultzsch, 3, 19, 36: I was the first to point out 12 (?), 27, 31, 37; no. 14 is doubtful; it is explained in three ways, as shown above.

The greatest merits in the explanation of the Bharhut Stūpa belong to Cunningham; and, next after him, unquestionably to Hultzsch, who was the first to give reliable reproductions and readings of the inscriptions.

[Dr. Oldenburg next gives translations of the following four Jātaka-tales:

List-No., 12, Sandhibheda, Fausböll, No. 349;
List-No., 27, Camma-sāṭaka, Fausböll, No. 324;
List-No., 31, Miga-potaka, Fausböll, No. 372;
List-No., 37, Kapota, Fausböll, No. 42.

Of the second and fourth of these, Morris has given easily accessible translations (references below); and the fourth may also be found in *The Jātaka, translated under the editorship of E. B. Cowell,* vol. i. (by R. Chalmers), p. 112. For the sake of space, we omit these two.—EDS.]

Jataka of the Divider[1] (Sandhi-bheda), No. 349.

Once during the reign of Brahmadatta at Benares, the Bodhisatta, who was his son, having studied at Takkasilā, came to rule [346] the kingdom after the death of his father. At that time a shepherd was herding some cows in the forest. When he was about to return home, he overlooked one cow which was with calf, and, leaving her, he returned home. The cow struck up a friendship with a lioness. Both became true friends and walked together. After a while, the cow bore a bull-calf and the lioness a male whelp. Both young ones became true friends on account of the friendship of their families and walked together. Once a hunter saw their friendship. Having bagged some game in the forest, he went to Benares and gave it to the king. The king asked, "Have you not, my good man, seen any miracle in the forest?" He said, "My Lord, I have seen nothing but a lion and a bullock in friendship and walking together." "Should a third one come into their midst there will be trouble. If you see among them a third one, let me know." "Very well, my Lord," answered the hunter. When the hunter went to Benares, a

[1] Cf. Minaev, I. P., "Nĕskol'ko slov o buddijskih jātakah," Ž. M. N. P., clxi. 222–224. The name of the Jātaka may be rendered also by 'Separation of union.'

jackal began to wait on the lion and the bullock; when the hunter came into the forest, he saw him and thought to himself, "I shall inform the king that a third one has appeared," and he went into the city.

The jackal thought to himself, "There is nothing that I have not eaten except the meat of a lion or a bullock. I will put strife between the lion and the bullock, and have a feast of their meat." After having thought so to himself, he brought strife between them by saying to each, "This one says so and so about you," and he caused them to quarrel till they were like to die. In the meanwhile the hunter went to the king and said, "My Lord, a third one has come among them." "Who is it?" said the king. "The jackal, sire," answered the hunter. The king said, "He will put strife between them and will kill them. But we will arrive there when both are dead." Having said this, he seated himself in his chariot, went along the road pointed out by the hunter, and arrived there when they, having fought together, had already perished. The jackal, happy and contented, was eating, now the flesh of the lion, now that of the bullock. The king seeing that both had perished, standing up in his chariot and conversing with the charioteer, pronounced the following stanzas:

1. There was here community neither in wives
   Nor in food, O charioteer;
   And behold, this divider—
   What a cunningly devised plot he has!

2. As the sharp sword into the flesh
   So cuts the deceitful word,
   For which mean beasts
[347] Devour the ox and the lion.

3. There will lie upon this bed[1]
   Which you see, O charioteer,
   He who to the word of the divider,
   The deceitful one, will listen.

4. Those men will prosper
   Like men who have gone to heaven,
   Who to the words of the divider
   Will not listen, O charioteer!

[1] That is, the bed of death; he is thinking of the lion and the bullock who had killed each other.

Jataka[1] of the hermit in the leathern cloak (Cammasataka), No. 324.

[This translation we omit—see above, p. 192.—Eds.]

[To the words of Morris's version, "The Teacher," etc., Oldenburg gives the following note :]

There is some inconsistency here in the naming. "Teacher" is used instead of "wise trader." As a rule, when stanzas are introduced by Buddha himself telling the story, this is generally indicated by calling them *abhisambuddha-gāthā*, 'stanzas pronounced by the Teacher after he had become Buddha.'

Jataka of the young fawn (Miga-potaka), No. 372.

Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta was Sakka (Indra). At that time a certain inhabitant of the kingdom of Kāsi went to the Himālaya, and became a hermit and lived on wild fruits. Now it so fell on a day, that he saw in the forest a young fawn whose dam had died. So the hermit took it to his hermitage and gave it some food and began to bring it up. The young fawn grew up and became very beautiful and comely. The hermit adopted it as a son and took care of it. One day the young fawn ate too much grass and died of indigestion. The hermit began to mourn for it, saying "My son is dead." Then Sakka, king of the gods, looking over the world, saw the hermit; and thinking, "I will admonish him,"[2] he went to the hermit, and, standing in the air, pronounced the first stanza :

1. It is not good that you having gone from home, and homeless, a monk, should mourn for one that is dead.

[349] Hearing that, the ascetic pronounced the second stanza :

2. From living together, you know, O Sakka, either with man or with beast, love springs up in the heart, and it is not possible to refrain from weeping for him (i. e. the dead, man or beast).

Then Sakka pronounced two stanzas :

3. They who weep for one dead or dying weep and lament [continually]. Therefore do not weep, O hermit. Wise men say weeping is in vain.

4. If weeping, indeed, could make the dead to rise, then we should all come together and weep for our relations.

While Sakka was saying this, the hermit came to understand that weeping was vain; and glorifying Sakka, he pronounced three stanzas :

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[1] A translation was given by Richard Morris, "Folk-tales of India," *Folk-Lore Journal*, iii. 248–249 (1885), Reprint, 64–65.

[2] [Pāli *saṁvejessāmi nam*, Oldenburg's Russian, *usověšču ego*, 'ich werde ihm ins Gewissen reden.' It would seem to mean lit'ly, 'I'll stir him up.'—Ed.]

5. In me who was ablaze, like a fire besprinkled with ghee, as if sprinkled with water, you have extinguished all my pain.

6. The arrow which was fixt in my heart is torn out from me by you who have dispelled the grief for my son from me half dead with grief.

7. The arrow is torn from me. Without grief am I, and quiet. I do not grieve, I do not weep, having heard you, O Vāsava.

[Sakka, having given the hermit this exhortation, went to his own place.]

Jataka[1] of the dove (Kapota), No. 42.

[This translation we omit—see above, p. 192.—Eds.]

2. The frescoes of the caves of Ajanta.

I shall give here only what is most essential of the rich literature of the caves of Ajaṇṭā.

1. Burgess, J. *Notes on the Bauddha rock-temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures, and on the paintings of the Bagh caves, modern Bauddha mythology, etc.* Bombay, 1879. (ASWI., No. 9.)

2. Fergusson, J., and Burgess, J. *The cave-temples of India.* London, 1880. This work gives a bibliographical list of the literature of the subject.

3. Burgess, J., and Bhagwanlal Indraji. *Inscriptions from the cave-temples of Western India, with descriptive notes, etc.* Bombay, 1881. (ASWI., No. 10.)

4. Burgess, J. *Report on the Buddhist cave-temples and their inscriptions.* London, 1883.

5. Waddell, L. A. "Note on some Ajanta paintings," *Indian Antiquary,* xxii. 8–11 (1893).

In explaining the numerous frescoes in the caves of Ajaṇṭā, I have come across a serious impediment, an almost complete [352] absence of reproductions, so that, in spite of the excellent descriptions of Dr. Burgess in his notes, I could be sure of the correctness of my explanations only in the case of a few scenes. These I shall here adduce. Many scenes seem to me familiar; but, as I have not been able to test my impressions by actual reproductions, I hesitate to publish these identifications. I hope the time is not far off when the frescoes of Ajaṇṭā will be published in reproductions worthy of the subject. [Amen and Amen!—Ed.]

All my citations refer to the *Notes* (No. 1 of the preceding bibliography), except the last citation, which refers to the *Inscriptions* (No. 3).

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[1] A translation was given by R. Morris. "Folk-tales of India," *Folk-Lore Journal,* iii. 329–333 (1885), Reprint, 73–76. See also Bishop Copleston's "Papers" (cited above, p. 186, No. 6), pages 163–166.

Current No.	No. of Cave.		No. of Jātaka.	Title of Jātaka.
1.	II.	Nos. VIII., IX., page 32—(cf. below, 5).	534	Mahā-haṅsa.
2.	—	No. XXVII., page 38.	482	Ruru.
3.	IX.	No. I., page 47—(cf. below, 11).	499	Sivi.[1]
4.	X.	Page 50.	514	Chaddanta.[1,2]
5.	XVII.	No. XIX., pages 65–66—(cf. above, 1).	534	Mahā-haṅsa.
6.	—	Nos. XXII.–XXIV., pages 66–67.	W.539	Mahā-vessantara (?).
7.	—	No. XXV., page 67.	516	Mahā-kapi.
8.	—	Nos. XXXVI.–XXXVII., page 70.	455	Māti-posaka.
9.	—	No. XXXVIII., page 71.	W.532	Sāma (?).
10.	—	No. XXXIX., page 71.	278	Mahisa.
11.	—	No. LIV., pages 75–76—(cf. above, 3).	499	Sivi.[1]
12.	II.	Outside chamber to the left. Inscriptions, pp. 81–82.	313	Khanti-vādi.[3]

3. The bas-reliefs of the temple of Boro-Boedoer.

[353] [First a little space may be given to the bibliography.]

1. Leemans, C. *Bôrô-Boudour dans l'île de Java.* Dessiné par ou sous la direction de M. F. C. Wilsen, avec texte descriptif et explicatif, rédigé, d' après les mémoires manuscrits et imprimés de MM. F. C. Wilsen, et J. F. G. Brumund, et autres documents, et publié, d'après les ordres de son Excellence le Ministre des Colonies, par le Dr. C. Leemans. Leide, 1874. (Text, in French and in Dutch, and Atlas.)

2. Ijzerman, J. W. "Iets over den oorspronkelijken voet van Boro Boedoer." *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde,* xxxi. 261–268.

At about the time of the appearance of Leemans's book, the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences published from these bas-reliefs 65 photographs, mentioned in the *Notulen,* xii. 71ff and 42ff (1874); see JA. 7. v. 569–570. To these photographs I could not get access.

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[1] Pointed out by Burgess.

[2] See Burgess, *Report,* pp. 45–46. Cf. L. Feer, Le Chaddanta-jātaka, JA. 9. v. 81–85 and 189–223 (1895). [See also No. 8 in the Bharhut list, above.]

[3] In Burgess, *Inscriptions,* 81, note, there is a statement that Kshāntivādin was the name of Gautama Buddha in one of his previous births. There are verses in the inscription which evidently belong to some version of this Jātaka.

Nor could I get the article by J. Groneman, "De Bårâboedoer op Midden-Java." Voordracht van een leek voor leeken. *De Indische Gids*, 1887, pages 99–125.

Unfortunately, I am very little acquainted with the literature of the famous Buddhist temple in Java, since the majority of Dutch publications in which anything is said of this remarkable monument of Buddhist art are inaccessible in St. Petersburg. I nevertheless venture on saying something in regard to the bas-reliefs of this temple, since I have succeeded in explaining a few scenes represented on them which, so far as I know, have never before been identified.

I think that the majority of representations refer to the Jātakas. On the plates we may expect to find Jātakas in nos. XVI.-CXXXV. (lower row, even numbers); CXXXVI.-CCXXX. (A and B); CCXCV.-CCCII.; CCCXLVII.-CCCLV.; CCCLXXXIX.-CCCXCII.

I consider the identifications which I give below, in the form of tables, as the beginning of an explanation of the whole series of bas-reliefs, which, I hope, will offer no insurmountable obstacles as soon as the whole material is at hand. In plates CXXXVI.-CLXX. (A), I think that I find representations of 34 Jātakas, arranged approximately in the order followed in the Jātaka-mālā, although a few scenes are not quite intelligible to me. The main difficulty which I see in this is that the artists have not always seized sharply the most important feature of the story, and have lost themselves too much in insignificant details. It may, however, be that they had a somewhat different text, although this is doubtful.

[The numbers on the left refer, of course, to the plates in Leemans's great work. The numbers preceding the name of the Jātaka on the right are the current numbers of Professor Kern's edition of the *Jātaka-mālā* in the Harvard Oriental Series.]

[Page **354** of the Russian begins with the beginning of this table; page **355**, with CXLVI. 47; page **356**, with CLIV. 78; page **357**, with CLXIII. 111.]

CXXXVI.	1.	?	
	2.	?	
	3–4.	[No picture.] [5–12, not given.]	
CXXXVII.	13–14.	[No picture.]	
CXXXVIII.	15.	[No picture.]	
	16.	Merchant carrying food.	4. Çreṣṭhi.
	17.	Hell. Pratyekabuddha.	
	18.	Pratyekabuddha flies away.	
CXXXIX.	22.	[No picture.] [19–21, not given.]	
	23.	?	

	24.	The animals bringing gifts to Indra.	6. Çaça.
	25.	The hare getting ready to jump into the fire.	
CXL.	26–29.	?	
CXLI.	30.		
	31–32.	Five Yakshas and the shepherd.	8. Maitrabala.
	33.	King Maitrabala and the Yakshas.	
CXLII.	34.		
	35–36.	?	
CXLIII.	37.	The giving up of the elephant.	9. Viçvantara.
	38.	The children of Viçvantara.	
CXLIV.	39.	Yakshas leading Viçvantara.	
	40–46.	?	
CXLVI.	47.	[No picture.]	
	48.	Offering Unm. as wife to king.	13. Unmādayantī.
	49.	King's ambassadors and Unm.	
	50.	Ambassadors reporting to the king.	
CXLVII.	51.	The king's meeting with Unm.	
	52.	Merchants on the sea.	14. Supāraga.
	53–54.	?	
CXLVIII.	55.		
	56.	Fishes in the lake before the rain.	15. Matsya.
	57.	The fishes after the rain.	
	58.	Quail in nest during the fire.	16. Vartakāpotaka.
CXLIX.	59.	Indra before the king, with jar.	17. Kumbha.
	60.	[Only lower part of one figure left.]	
CL.	61–63.	[No picture.]	
CLI.	64.		
	65–66.	Hermits in the woods.	19. Bisa.
	67.	?	
CLII.	68.	Indra repenting.	
	69–71.	?	20. Çreṣṭhi.
CLIII.	72.	[No picture.]	
	73.	Man and wife going to the forest.	21. Cuḍḍabodhi.
	74.	The king in the forest.	
	75.	Rape of the hermit's wife	

CLIV.	76.	[No picture.]	
	77.	Swans on the lake.	22. Haṅsa.
	78.	Reporting to king about the swans.	
	79.	Hunter catches the swans.	
CLV.	80.	[No picture.]	
	81.	Swan's talk with king. (Fragment.)	
	82–84.	[Lost and so not in the Plates.]	
CLVI.	85–87.	[No picture.]	
	88.	[Only a fragment.]	
CLVII.	89.	?	
	90.	King goes hunting.	25. Çarabha.
	91.	King in the ravine.	
	92.	The Çarabha rescues the king.	
CLVIII.	93.	The Çarabha's farewell.	26. Ruru.
	94.	[Fragment.]	
CLIX.	95.	Beasts in the forest.	
	96.	The drowning man and the ruru-deer.	
	97.	King in the forest.	
	98.	The ruru's sermon.	
CLX.	99–100.	Bringing fruit to the king. (?)	27. Mahā-kapi.
	101.	King getting ready to find the fruit.	
	102.	The escaping monkeys.	
CLXI.	103.	The sleeping king.	28. Kṣānti.
	104.	King looking for his wives.	
	105.	?	
CLXII.	106.	[Fragment.]	
	107.	[No picture.]	
CLXIII.	108–110.	[No picture.]	
	111.	Brahma preaches to the king.	29. Brahma.
CLXIV.	112.	Elephant and one of the pilgrims.	30. Hasti.
	113.	Pilgrims.	
	114.	Elephant about to jump down.	
	115.	Pilgrims worship elephant's remains.	

CLXV.	116.	Sutasoma and the Brahman.	31. Sutasoma.
	117.	Saudāsa kidnaps Sutasoma.	
	118.	Su. hears the words of the Brahman.	
	119.	Su. preaches to Saudāsa and the princes.	
CLXVI.	120.	Birth of the prince.	32. Ayo-gṛha.
	121–122.	?	
	123.	Departure of the prince.	
CLXVII.	124–126.	?	
CLXVIII.	127.	The prince turns hermit.	
	128.	[No picture.]	
CLXIX.	129.	Monkey and ox.	33. Mahiṣa.
	130.	Yaksha asks ox why he endures monkey.	
	131.	?	
	132.	Yaksha listens to sermon of ox.	
CLXX.	133.	?	34. Çata-pattra.
	134.	Lion with bone stuck in his throat.	
	135.	Woodpecker takes bone from lion's throat.	
	136.	Woodpecker converses with lion.	

[358] Of the other separate scenes, I shall give here only those whose identification seems to me indisputable.

The Sudhana Kinnaravadana.[1]

XVI.	2.	?
XVII.	4.	?
XVIII.	6.	*a.* King Dakṣiṇa-pañcāla's talk with the snake-charmer.
		b. Janmacitra's curses and the hunter Halaka's appearance.
		c. J's gratitude to the hunter for his liberation.
XIX.	8.	Halaka's sojourn in Janmacitra's house.
XX.	10.	Princess kinnarī Manoharā with a kinnarī at Brahmasabhā lake.
XXI.	12.	Prince Sudhana fetches princess Manoharā.
XXII.	14.	?
XXIII.	16.	The prince saying farewell to his mother.

[1] See *Divyāvadāna*, xxx., and my *Buddijskija legendy*, part 1, St. Petersburg, 1894, pages 43–47 and 80.

XXIV.	18.	The prince meeting Indra.
XXV.	20.	The king consulting in regard to his son.
XXVI.	22.	Manoharā flies away.
XXVII.	24.	The prince presenting himself to his father after the campaign.
XXVIII.	26.	The prince conversing with his mother.
XXIX.	28.	?
XXX.	30.	Prince and hermit.
XXXI.	32.	Prince in kinnara's realm; at the pond.
XXXII.	34.	The trial with the bow.
XXXIII.	36.	The trial with the girls.
XXXIV.	38.	The dances of the kinnarī.
XXXV.	40.	Sudhana and Manoharā giving presents after their return.

Maitra-kanyaka.[1]

CXXIII.	216.	Shipwreck. Meeting with the four girls.
CXXIV.	218.	Meeting with eight girls.
CXXV.	220.	Meeting with 16 girls (11 represented). [359]
CXXVI.	222.	Meeting with 32 girls (only 14 represented).
CXXVII.	224.	*a.* Sojourn in city of the 32 girls.
		b. The coming upon the preta.
		c. The wheel falls on Maitrakanyaka's head.

Kacchapavadana.

I know this Jātaka only from Rājendralāla Mitra's account taken from the Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpa-latā, xcvii.

CLXXXII.	192, A.	The turtle in the sea.
	193.	Shipwreck.
	194.	Turtle saving the drowning men.
CLXXXIII.	195.	Turtle offering itself as food to the saved.

The Horse Balaha.[2]

CCCLXXXIX. 4. Balāha takes the travellers across the sea.

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[1] See my *Buddijskija legendy*, 40–48, and 79–80, where the literature is given.

[2] I do not undertake to say which one of the numerous versions the artist here has in mind. In regard to the different versions of this legend see my letter to G. N. Potanin, printed by him in the *Etnografičeskoje Obozrěnie*, ix. 95–98 (1891).

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